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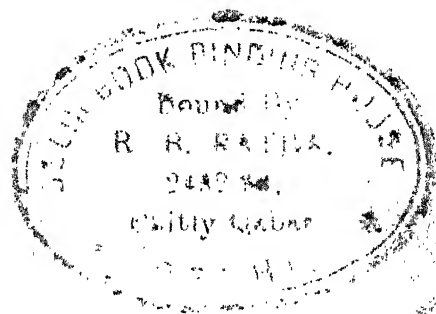
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*A Quarterly Record of Anthropological
Science with Special Reference to India*

Founded by SARAT CHANDRA ROY

DOUBLE NUMBER

NOTES ON THE JUANG

By Verrier Elwin

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Nos. 1 & 2

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Edited by

RAMESH CHANDRA ROY

W. G. ARCHER

VERRIER ELWIN

All communications, subscriptions, articles for publication, and books for review should be sent to the Managing Editor,

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With this number of *Man in India* its association with DR VERRIER ELWIN and MR. W. G. ARCHER, who have carried the main burden of editing and managing the journal for the past five years, comes to an end. DR C. VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF also will no longer be associated with the exchange service which was taking the journal into all countries of the world.

In future, all communications relating to *Man in India* should be addressed to:

SHRI R. C. ROY, M.A., LL.B.,
18 Church Road,
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MAN IN INDIA

Vol. XXVIII]

1948

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NOTES ON THE JUANG

5305
M.I.
By

VERRIER ELWIN

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M.T.

FOREWORD

THESE notes have been written three-quarters of a century too late, for much that was characteristic of Juang life has disappeared, or remains only as a memory and echo. For the ethnographer the difficulty is enormous, since customs and traditions vary in almost every village. No two marriages are performed alike; no two Juang will agree on the number of clans or the nature of the gods; every myth and legend varies a little.

This is the first difficulty. The second is even more practical. I had long wondered why no one had written a monograph on this tribe, one of the most 'primitive' in India. After touring through the Keonjhar uplands I had the answer. The Juang are not easy. It is almost impossible to get about. The people do not want visitors and they do not mind saying so. They refuse to show the traveller the road or they point out to him a wrong one. They give fantastically incorrect distances to prevent him from proceeding on his tour. They reveal themselves with the utmost reluctance. I look back on my first tour in Keonjhar as one of the most difficult I have ever undertaken. The distances are great and the paths difficult even with elephants. There is no tradition, as in Bastar, of village hospitality. At one point, when I was being carried with high fever through the jungle at night, my Juang bearers dumped me down and disappeared, leaving me alone without a light and unable to walk. Another time they declared, 'Whether you live or die, what is that to us?' and refused to help even a sick man. At Burhagarh, where I left my companion Mr Mahunty to talk to the people, they entirely deserted him when he questioned them about their axe-cultivation and he could find no one to shift camp. At Kapotdiha the Juang were so suspicious that they said, 'We've never had a visitor here before and we don't want one now'; they had the disconcerting habit of turning their backs on you just when you were feeling at your friendliest.

Throughout Pal Lahara, however, I had a very happy time; here I was called 'Rusi Sahib'—Rusi being the ancient cult-hero of the Juang. But now the difficulty was to see anything that could be called Juang life. There are only 360 of the Juang left here and they are split up into depressed little groups clinging to the larger hamlets of Chasa or Savara. There were, however, a few Juang hamlets as at Kantara, Nan Gan and Tambur and the people here were very friendly. And once they were friendly the Juang were almost embarrassing in their attentions. They were full of interest about my way of life, invading the tent at all times and even peeping through a lavatory wall to see how the stranger performed his natural functions. Indeed I often felt as if I were the museum specimen and the Juang an ethnographic committee investigating a creature of the absurdest habits.

But these difficulties forgotten, a visit to the Juang world is a fascinating experience. The country is wild and beautiful and reminded me often of the Abujhmar Mountains. The journeys, for example, between Bali and Khajurbani in Keonjhar and between Nagira and Kantara in Pal Lahara continually surprise the traveller with the splendour of the landscape, and the palm-girt flat lands round the lovely Malyagiri Mountain, whose rocks catch the sun in ever-changing shades of colour, is unforgettable. Above Korba too, high in the mountains is a 'forgotten valley', surrounded on all sides by hill and precipice; the red cliffs of Sunduria, the forest-covered Runjapani and Jaharpani hills, the precipitous Chandagiri shut off from the outside world the few score Juang peasants living there. In early December the country has a special charm, for all the hills are carpeted by fields of yellow sarson.

To understand the Juang some study of the neighbouring Bhuiya culture is necessary and I spent some weeks among the very interesting Pauri Bhuiya of Bonai State and saw something of the Bhuiya of Keon-

jhar and Pal Lahara. The two tribes have many features in common and believe themselves to be closely allied.

The following notes were made during a tour of Keonjhar and Pal Lahara during the cold weather of 1942 and have been supplemented in some cases by enquiries made by my assistants the following year. I do not suggest that these notes are anything more than a preliminary venture, but as I see little prospect of continuing my Juang work, I have thought it worth while to publish them—in spite of many obvious gaps and deficiencies—in order that some account of this interesting and ancient tribe should be on record.



NOTES ON THE JUANG

PART ONE

I

INTRODUCTION

THE Juang¹ have had very varied fortune in literature. The first account of them was written in 1856, by E. A. Samuells of the Bengal Civil Service. It appeared in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* and was illustrated by some clever but astonishingly unsympathetic drawings by Major Strange of the Trigonometrical Survey.² Since this account, imperfect as it is, gives some idea of the tribe as it existed ninety years ago, it will be worth giving fairly lengthy extracts from it.

I first met with the Puttoos at the Killah of Dhenkenal in 1854. I saw another large party of them in the Hindole Killah last year, and a few weeks ago I visited a Puttoa village near Bhapore, on the Ungool road, in company with my friend Major Strange. My information regarding the habits and customs of the tribe is derived chiefly from the Puttoos themselves, but to some extent also from the Dhenkenal Rajah, to whom I sent a paper of queries last year on the subject.

The Puttoos are scattered over the Tributary Mehals (or Killahs as they are frequently called) of Keonjur, Pal Leyra, Dhenkenal and Hindole. In Dhenkenal, they are said to number one thousand and five persons of all ages and sexes, inhabiting fifty-eight different localities. Their numbers in the other Mehals I have not been able to ascertain with any certainty. It is commonly supposed, however, that they occupy about thirty villages in Keonjur, and six or seven in Pal Leyra and Hindole.

In appearance, the Puttoos differ materially from the Ooriahs, in whose neighbourhood they are found. Their stature is diminutive not exceeding apparently 5 ft. 2 in. the males, and 4 ft. 3 or 4 in. the females. Their forms are slight with very little muscular development and their physique seemingly weak. There is, of course, a great variety of physiognomy apparent amongst them, but I remarked, as a general characteristic which rarely failed, that the face was broader and shorter than in the Ooriah, and that the nose was flat with wide nostrils. Their colour is not darker than that of the Ooriah peasant.

¹ The word 'Juang' in tribal dialect means simply 'man'. A number of tribes use words with this meaning: Ho means 'man,' so does Korku, so does the original name of the Gond, Koitur. An alternative Juang title—'Patua'—refers to the leaf-dress of the women.

² Two of these drawings are reproduced here: a third will be found in my *The Muria and their Ghotul* (Bombay, 1947).

The men are far from being handsome, but the palm of ugliness must be awarded to the women. I must have seen altogether about forty or fifty of the Puttooa women, old and young, and I did not observe one who was not repulsively ugly. It was evident from what we saw in the village which Major Strange and I visited, that all the drudgery of the household devolved upon the women; and to this, and their constant exposure, may partly be attributed the coarseness of feature, which distinguishes them; they seemed to us, however, to be also insufficiently fed. Their persons were generally spare and emaciated, while the men, for the most part, appeared to be in good condition.

The dress of the men is the ordinary one of the native peasantry, but the women wear no clothes whatsoever. Their sole covering consists of two large bunches of leaves (or rather of twigs with the leaves attached) of which one is worn in front and the other behind. The twigs are sometimes fastened together by a strip of bark, but are more generally loose, and are kept in position by a string of glazed earthenware beads passed twenty or thirty times round the waist and over the stems of the twigs. It is from this original costume that the tribe have obtained from their neighbours the name of Puttooa—quasi *the people of the leaf*. They call themselves Juanga. The leaves which I observed in use were those of the sal, the jamoon, the koorye, and the chaldua, but I was told that the leaves of the bur, the peepul, the mhowa and the kendooa, in fact all large and smooth leaves are used indifferently. The leaves are changed daily, and are generally in consequence clean and fresh-looking.

No covering is worn on the upper-part of the person; but most of the females I have seen had necklaces of coloured earthenware beads (made by themselves they told me) which hung down to their waists in numerous folds; and nose, ear, and hair ornaments were common amongst them.

Their hair was generally of the shock order, but was gathered rudely into a knot at the back of the head, and fastened by a string terminating at each end in a silver or brass button.

No blanket or other covering, I was assured, is permitted to these women at night, and their only remedy against the extreme cold which often prevails in the hilly region they inhabit, is to sleep between two fires.

The origin of the strange costume they have adopted, was thus described to me by the different parties of Puttoogas, whom I questioned. Many ages ago, they said, the women of the tribe, being much given to fine clothes and naturally averse to soiling them, fell into a habit of dressing themselves in leaves whenever they had occasion to clean out the cow-houses or to perform any other menial office. On one occasion when thus employed a Thakoorani (Seeta some said, but the majority did not seem sure of her name) appeared to them and commanded them as a punishment for their pride, never again to wear clothes, or to appear in any other dress

than that in which they then stood. Should they violate this command, they firmly believe that they would sooner or later be devoured by tigers. In Keonjur, I am told by Dr Short of the Madras Army, who has lately visited that Killah, that the legend is somewhat differently told, and that the dress is said to be worn in obedience to the commands of a Rishi. The same belief, however, appears to prevail in Keonjur as in Dhenkenal, on the subject of the penalty which awaits those who presume to discard their present sylvan attire, and it is probably owing to the dread which this belief inspires, that even children of an age at which Ooriah girls usually go naked, are made to wear their little apron of leaves.

Of the history of their tribe the Puttoos know little. Some of them informed me that the Tributary Mehal of Keonjur was the original seat of their race, but the majority seemed to have no idea that their ancestors had ever resided in any other lands than those they now occupy.

Their villages are small, seldom containing more than six or eight families. Their houses are of the same material as those of the peasantry around them—thatched huts of wattle and dab, but they are poor and mean in comparison. I found there was a belief among the people of my office that the sexes occupied separate houses in the villages, but this is certainly not the case. Each family appeared to have its own dwelling. The site selected for the village is generally some opening in the forest. The one which I visited in company with Major Strange was situated in a very pretty spot on the skirt of the jungle whence the eye wandered over a small cultivated valley—the out-fields of a distant Ooriya village—to the huge mass of the Satsujea mountain, which threw the shadows of its peaks across from a height of some 1,800 feet. The village itself was simply a small square surrounded by six miserable looking huts, the whole not larger than the house of a flourishing Ooriya ryot.

The Puttoos do not themselves own land, although they sometimes, we were told, assist in its cultivation. Their pursuits are chiefly those of the chase. They use the bow and arrow, and hunt with dogs, killing deer, hogs, and not unfrequently snakes, of the flesh of which and especially of that of the *Python molurus* they are very fond. They appear to be nearly omnivorous, nothing coming amiss to them except cow's flesh, from which they probably abstain either from fear of the Hindu Rajahs, in whose territories they live, or out of deference to the prejudices of their Hindu neighbours. Their usual food, however, consists of roots and the seeds of jungle grasses. We found three different kinds of roots in their houses which were called by our Ooriya attendants *toonga*, *kurba* and *paneé aloo*. We took some specimens of each to camp and had them cooked for dinner, but the experiment was not encouraging. Without being absolutely nauseous, they were all insipid and had an earthy flavour which was decidedly disagreeable.

No distinctions of rank exist among these people. One and all call themselves Pudhan, the title which the Ooriya give to the headman of a village. Thus the husband of Kumlee, that most uncomely damsel who stands in the sketch with head averted, looking, as she did in truth, the very picture of sulkiness, is called Mootee Pudhan, and so on with the happy owners of the other ladies who sat for their portraits. They have no distinction of castes. Some of them told us indeed that they should object to eat with low caste Hindus, but this of course was a mere piece of bravado, intended for the ears of the Hindus who were with us; as no Hindu, however low his caste, would consent to join in their meals.

They pay no rent to the Rajahs on whose lands they live, but they are expected to furnish him, when required, with spirit manufactured from the flowers of the mhowa and with the honey of the wild bee. They are forced also to carry his baggage when he marches through his estate, and to assist on the occasion of his hunting excursions in beating the forest.

The Dhenkenal Rajah declares, that the Puttooas are Hindus, and that they make offerings to the village deities, but although, as may be seen from the legend by which they account for the peculiar costume of their women, they appear to recognise the existence of the Hindu deities as beings capable of exercising an influence over their actions, they uniformly denied to me that they worshipped any deity or paid respect to any image whatsoever. There were certainly no images of any kind in the vicinity of their huts, and they have no priesthood among them. Their religious homage they assured us was confined to the nameless spirits which they believe inhabit the woods and mountains. When they find a wild grape vine or a wild plum tree more than usually fruitful, or when they chance upon a spot rich in the roots or grasses upon which they subsist, they make an offering to the genius loci of a fowl, a goat, or a little rice and spirits, and address to him a prayer in which the terror which overshadows the lives of this forest race finds touching expression. "Lord, let the bears and the tigers flee when they see us. Let them not meet us." The only festival of a religious character, which they appear to have, occurs in the month of Bysakh, when they offer sacrifices and pour out libations to the manes of their deceased ancestors. They bury their dead, and, as far as I could learn, without any ceremonies worthy of note.¹

The next account of the Juang comes from the inspired pen of Colonel Dalton, who gives some beautiful photographs. The *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* dates from 1872 and Dalton's first introduction to the Juang from 1866. It was just at this period that Captain J. Johnstone forced many of the Juang to abandon

¹ E. A. Samuells, 'Notes on a forest race called Puttooas or Juanga,' *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XXV (1856), pp. 295ff.

the leaf-dress. This fact gives an added importance to Dalton's description and pictures, for they are the last we have before the psychological degeneration of the tribe began.

Dalton estimated that there were about 3,000 Juang in Keonjhar. They were 'in habits and customs the most primitive people I have met with or read of. . . It is not improbable that we have in the Juangs representatives of the stone age *in situ*'.

In the hills of Keonjhar they are still semi-nomadic in their habits, living together in villages during a portion of the year, but often changing the sites, and occupying isolated huts in the midst of their patches of cultivation, whilst the crops are on the ground.

What impressed Dalton was, in fact, the extreme primitiveness of the Juang. Their huts were 'amongst the smallest that human beings ever deliberately constructed as dwellings'; but then, as now, the dormitory was 'a building of some pretensions.' To see Juang returning from work in the evening 'with dishevelled hair, dusty bodies and disordered attire, *i.e.*, somewhat withered leaves, was truly like a dream of the stone age.'¹

The Juang cultivated, then as now, 'in the rudest way' but Dalton doubted 'if they were so badly off as they pretended to be.' They were 'addicted to ardent spirits,' but had no tradition of distilling or even of brewing rice-beer, a defect from which they still appear to suffer. Their favourite weapon was the 'primitive sling made entirely of cord' but this has now lost favour before the bow and arrow.

Dalton rightly describes Strange's 'very clever but very grotesque sketches' as 'grossly calumniating the race' and indeed he appears to have been greatly impressed by the 'well developed and finely formed' figures of the girls he saw. But they were small compared with the Ho giantesses of Singhbhum. Juang males 'have round shoulders and walk with a slouching pace . . . The Juang appear to bend under their burden-bearing lot.'

It is interesting that Dalton decided (wrongly, in Risley's opinion) that the Juang were 'free from the belief in witchcraft, which is the bane of the Kols . . . They have not, like the Kharrias, the reputation of being deeply skilled in sorcery . . . The even tenor of their lives is unbroken by any obligatory religious ceremonies'. Twenty years later, Risley writes that 'my own enquiries lead me to doubt the accuracy of this account'² and he adds a list of gods and festivals, though he gives no evidence of the Juang's interest in witchcraft and sorcery. It may well be that the absorption in these things, which even today though present is not excessive, is a development, partly through Hindu influence, partly as a substitute for trust in the leaf-dress.

¹ E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1872), p. 153.

² H. H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1891), Vol. I, p. 353.

Dalton describes Juang marriage ceremonies as very simple, and declares that 'a man may have more wives than one, if he can afford it, but no Juang has ever ventured on more than two at a time.' Since then a few Juang have proved more adventurous. The Juang swear on earth from an ant-hill and on a tiger skin.

In 1891 Risley published his *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* which includes a section on the Juang, based mainly on Dalton, but giving a few independent remarks and a list of clans. Risley's attempt to relate the Juang closely to the Munda and Kharia is not very convincing. The evidence he offers may be explained other than by relationship. The tattoo marks—three strokes on the forehead—represent for the Juang a bow and arrow; their oath on earth from an ant-hill which is shared by the Kharia is in their case probably due to the fact that Rusi once lived in an ant-hill. Not only Kol and Santal, but people all over India, swear by the tiger's skin. Risley says that in his day the social status of the tribe could not be precisely defined.

They are beyond the pale of Hinduism, and no member of any recognized caste will eat or drink with them. Juangs themselves will take cooked food, water and sweetmeats from the Bhunjas, but a Bhunja will not take even water from a Juang. In course of time no doubt they will attain a higher social position, and the first step in this direction has already been taken by their partial adoption of some of the Hindu gods.¹

Another early account of the Juang is given by Sir W. W. Hunter in his *Statistical Account of Bengal*,² in his description of a visit he paid to the Raja of Dhenkanal. The passage appeared first in his *Orissa*, but as it is not easily accessible I reproduce part of it here.

About noon [the date was sometime in 1870] arrived a band of jungle people, whose national dance the Maharaja wished to show me. The men wore a single cotton cloth. The women had not even this, but simply a string round their waist, with a bunch of leaves before and behind. Two or three of the men beat with their fingers on little drums, while the women formed a semicircle and moved backwards and forwards in a rather tedious dance. They dwell apart from the agricultural population and speak a language of their own, of which the Maharaja afterwards gave me a vocabulary. The life they love best is to wander about the woods collecting the wild products, which they barter for food. Occasionally they hire themselves out in gangs to clear the forest for the more settled husbandmen; but even while thus engaged they hold no intercourse with the agriculturists, and receive the stipulated amount of rice

¹ Risley, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 354f.

² W. W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal* (London, 1877), Vol. XIX, pp. 286f.

through the hands of one or two representatives.

About 1930 the Juang had the misfortune to attract the notice of one Mr Vivian Meik. His worthless book¹ would not deserve mention here but for the fact that the *London Times*² published a lengthy abstract of it and it has been quoted as authoritative by no less a person than L. S. S. O'Malley in *Modern India and the West*,³ in spite of the fact that it had already been exposed by Sarat Chandra Roy in the pages of *Man*.⁴ Vivian Meik claims that in the State of Rairakhol, after crawling and hacking his way for five hours through the 'undergrowth of almost unpenetrable jungle' he discovered forest people to whom he gives the name of 'The People of the Leaves.' Meik's book is refreshingly free from the pedantries of maps and names either of people or places, and he nowhere says that his people were Juang; however he prints a number of photos of Juang in their leaf-dress which appear to have been taken in Pal Lahara. There are no Juang or other leaf-clad people in Rairakhol, as I have found by careful enquiry in that State.

Meik, who writes in the style of a popular novelist called Dornford Yates, and who names his camp Reverie, summarizes the life of the Leaf People in a paragraph put into the lips of his interpreter, a paragraph that the *Times* reproduces; I suppose that is how some people prefer Indians to talk to sahibs.

'Heaven born, the man bowed low. This be one of the people of the leaves, whose home is in the sal, and whose mind is the mind of the days of old. They live in legend, Sahib, having neither clothes nor villages, nor kine to milk, nor crops to tend. In the depths they hide, lessening in numbers swiftly as each moon follows its course. Roots they eat chiefly, Sahib, and drink the vile liquor of the mahua flower when their festivals approach.'

Meik regarded himself as a god who had come to live among these folk whose only home was among 'the great roots' (sic) of the sal. He tempts a couple of Juang headmen to his camp Reverie, and seated comfortably on a deck chair takes out his pipe. 'To me it seemed pitifully comic as they gaped at the lighted match, but I looked up quickly with my first puff of smoke. There had been only one unearthly scream of terror before they broke wildly and merged themselves in the jungle.' It took the interpreter three days 'to lure them back to the god who breathed fire'.⁵ Think

1 Vivian Meik, *The People of the Leaves* (London, 1931).

2 *The Times*, 6 October 1930.

3 L. S. S. O'Malley, *Modern India and the West* (London, 1941).

4 S. C. Roy speaks of 'the more or less imaginary and overdrawn account of an unnamed tribe, with perhaps just a few grains of distorted fact hidden under a cartload of fiction, in such books as Vivian Meik's.'—S. C. Roy 'An Indian Outlook on Anthropology,' *Man*, September 1938.

5 Meik, p. 37.

6 *ibid.*, p. 50.

of it; an Indian aboriginal who had never seen a pipe. But of course, the Juang according to Meik—although they knew the use of fire—eat all their food raw. 'I seriously debated within myself whether to teach them to cook, but considered that it would not be a kindness.' 'One day I gave them a slice of cooked meat. It was fresh from the bowl. The Leaf men put the meat into their mouths. It was hot—very hot. The next second a scream of fear broke the peace of Reverie; ¹ Even more remarkable was when the god let off his rifle. 'I looked round, hoping that my little men had not been too frightened. Both lay in a dead faint... Recovering almost simultaneously, violent nausea immediately ensued, together with all the reflex primeval demonstrations of great fear. Indeed, Terror could go no further. Before I could stop them, they leapt for the undergrowth and vanished. It was five days before they came back.' ²

In the meantime Meik found the presence of his interpreter and chowkidars (very wisely provided by the State) embarrassing and sent them away. He admits that he did not know the language and could only communicate by signs, which is an admirable reason why O'Malley should have accepted him as an authority on the Juang table of kindred and affinity. I will not waste much time on this nauseating forgery, but will content myself with one or two extracts of what is supposed to have happened after 'God had come down—to the Leaf man' and Vivian Meik began 'picking up the gold at Rainbow's End.' ³ The Juang have no notion of what love is; all they get out of 'the puppy antics' of their sex life is some sort of animal satisfaction. Meik does not condemn this; far from it; he looks on with an amused tolerance, but he thinks the physical results are unfortunate. The People of the Leaves age very quickly. 'The women are in the prime of their beauty at fifteen; before twenty-two they are grandmothers; by thirty they have withered and grown haggard.' This remarkable passage appeared in the *London Times*. But even *The Times* shrunk from printing Meik's almost classic account of a Juang orgy. This occurs every month. After dancing all night in honour of the moon (sic), the people drink heavily and really let themselves go. 'Before the dawn, men, women and children lay sodden where they had fallen...' Most of the relationships were incestuous. 'The Leaf People have no incest barrier. I felt this fact more than I can say... It is too pitiful for words... The sight of a mother well past her prime—say twenty—and a 'man' of eleven who was so very obviously her son—or, as is much more common, fathers and daughters, brothers and sisters—giving vent to the desires they cannot even name, made me very, very sad.

'Why didn't I stop it? I, who was the greatest god they ever

¹ *ibid.*, p. 51.

² *ibid.*, p. 50.

³ *ibid.*, p. 54.

knew . . .¹

And, of course, the Juang have no idea of physiological paternity. No book of anthropology is complete without an account of some such mental deficiency. 'They believe that children come somehow through the mother having eaten berries of a particular kind.'² For this reason, the Juang have no institution of marriage, practising neither polygamy nor polyandry. 'They merely take what they want when they want it, much the same as a kennel full of pups.' Meik does not tell us the technique he used to elicit these interesting but obscure facts without knowing the language and without the help of an interpreter.

A Juang girl makes love to a man by giving him a nice fresh girdle of leaves to wear. Unfortunately all Meik's photographs show the Juang men clothed, as always, in cloth. But this is a matter on which Meik can speak with authority. He knows. The Rairakhol Pavlova, the favourite 'wife' (his quotes) of Zed, of all the People of the Leaves had the least fear of the strange god who had come down among them.

Poor little thing! With the nameless instinct of Eve, she tried to be just one better than her sisters in the favour of the god. How she pressed her case on Zed I never knew—you, if you have thought will tell me that it is obvious . . . but you will be wrong! Anyhow I do not propose to discuss that—but one night I found her in my shelter. She was trembling under the stress of every primitive emotion—even her instinct was subordinated to Fear and Hope and—everything else . . . I picked her up gently and carried her to the next sal tree to Zed . . .

I think, in some subconscious way, she was glad. But—

Eve, you are always just *dying* to know . . . aren't you? ³

And this is the book which O'Malley considered sufficiently authoritative to be quoted in *Modern India and the West*, published under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. This is what he says :

A first-hand account of the Juang, or Patua given in 1931 by Mr Vivian Meik shows that in the State of Rairakhol at least, they are at the nadir of primitivism. He lived for some time among them and found that they still wore leaves and nothing else, lived from day to day on the fruit which they gathered from the forest in which they lived and on the roots which they grubbed up either with their hands or with pieces of flint, like men of the Stone Age, could not count above five, and in their sexual relations observed no table of kindred or affinity, but were more like animals. As for western influences they had not even a conception of the existence of Europeans except in a legendary kind of way. ⁴

¹ *ibid.*, p. 159.

² *ibid.*, p. 156.

³ *ibid.*, p. 177f.

⁴ O'Malley, *op. cit.*, p. 733.

Further comment is, I think, superfluous.

II

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE TRIBE

The Juang have never been numerous and their distribution has apparently been confined to a restricted area. In the time of Samuells (1857) it was estimated that there were in Dhenkanal 1,005 Juang of both sexes inhabiting 58 different localities.¹ Dalton (1871) estimates their population at about 3,000 in Keonjhar alone.² Hunter³ (1877) gives their numbers and distribution as—

Keonjhar	..	..	..	..4,592
Dhenkanal	..	..	..	..4,120
Pal Lahara	..	..	..	.. 367
Hindol	..	..	..	.. 290
Banki	..	..	..	.. 290
Total				..9,659

Risley says that in 1881 only 3 were returned in Cuttack and 606 in the Tributary States, a drop in population due obviously to faulty enumeration.⁴

Thereafter the figures given by the Census of India are as follows :

State	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941
Athgarh	97	—	—	—	280	268
Dhenkanal	2,872	—	—	—	6,760	7,520
Hindol	—	—	—	—	588	445
Keonjhar	5,676	—	—	—	7,029	8,424
Mayurbhanj	528	—	—	—	—	—
Pal Lahara	—	—	—	—	365	375
Talcher	—	—	—	—	2	—
TOTAL	9,173	11,159	12,823	10,454	15,024	17,032 ⁵

The main distribution of characteristic Juang is in the three States of Keonjhar, Dhenkanal and Pal Lahara in the Orissa States Agency. These States adjoin one another; Pal Lahara

¹ Samuells, op. cit., p. 295.

² Dalton, op. cit., p. 153.

³ W. W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal* (London, 1877), Vol. XIX, p. 241.

⁴ Risley, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 355.

⁵ Of these, 8,342 were males and 8,690 females.

lies to the south-west and Dhenkanal along the southern border of Keonjhar. The Juang cover a block of hill country in the south and west of Keonjhar, among the adjoining hills and plains of Pal Lahara to the east of that State and in the remote and wild country to the north of Dhenkanal.

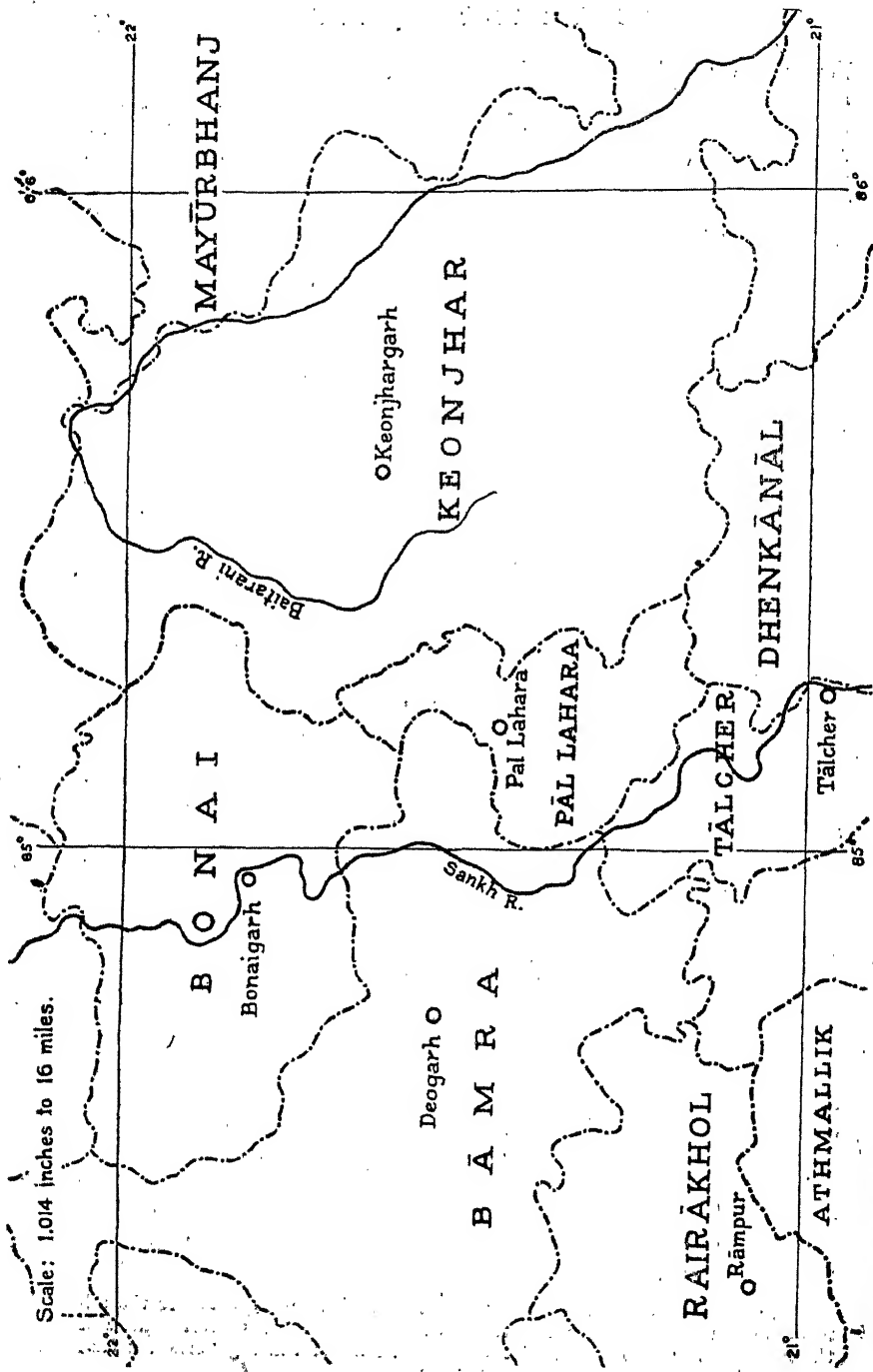
The idea that peasants are unconcerned with kings is not altogether true; in Keonjhar at least the peasants claim to be king-makers; and the Juang everywhere are strongly conscious of their citizenship of their State, and of the mutual duties of subject and Raja. It is necessary therefore briefly to survey the three States, in order that the political and national background of the Juang may be properly appreciated.¹

Keonjhar is the largest of the three States. It is the true *māti-prithwi* of the Juang, where they originated, and whence they spread to other places 'for the sake of food.' Lying between 21° and 22° 9' north and 85° 31' and 86° 30' east, it is about 85 miles long at its greatest length and its average breadth, north and west, is about 36 miles. The total area is 3,096 square miles. It is usually divided into Upper and Lower Keonjhar, the Lower area consisting of a fertile and thickly populated plain, the Upper area being the home of the Bhuiya and Juang. Upper Keonjhar has splendid hills and forests everywhere, but we are only concerned here with the part known as the Juang Pirh and to some extent with the Bhuiya Pirh. The Bhuiya Pirh is the mountainous country stretching from the Bonai and Pal Lahara borders up to the capital; it contains six sub-Pirhs and is mostly inhabited by Bhuiya who have caused great devastation to its splendid forests. It has two important villages, Banspal and Kuanr, where there are police outposts. Kuanr is fourteen miles from the capital, and on the road under the fine Gandamardhan hill is the village of Saukati where a school has recently been opened.

The Juang Pirh of Keonjhar is a triangular-shaped piece of country, with the capital at its apex and Kuanr and Basantpur at its foot. It has three lesser Pirhs—Jharkhand, Satkhandia and Kathua. In the centre of the tract is Gonasika, the source of the Baitarni river. This splendid river, whose name is said to mean 'that which must be crossed by a boat and is not fordable' springs from a rock above Gonasika (which resembles the nose—*nasika*—of a cow—*go*) at an altitude of 3,219 feet above sea level and flows down a fairly steep gradient, covering some 1,400 feet in 50 miles. The river has a course of about 160 miles in Keonjhar State, which it leaves at Gamaria in the Jajpur sub-division. Its upper catchment area, which covers some 500 square miles, lies in the Bhuiya and Juang Pirh. Of recent years the river has been subject to heavy floods. There was one in 1927 and 13 years later in 1940

¹ These pages were, of course, written several years ago, before the administration of the States was taken over by the Orissa Government. But the account is still relevant, for it has been under State government that the Juang have lived for so many years.

Scale: 1.0/4 inches to 16 miles.



the Balasore District suffered twice. A bridge was breached at Champua and the railway line was broken between Jajpur Road and Bhadrakh. These floods have been traced, with what truth it is difficult to say, to the heavy run-off of water in the upper reaches of the river where the normal forest growth has been destroyed by axe-cultivation. The Juang however do not cultivate in the immediate neighbourhood of streams and if the floods were really due to their methods of cultivation one would have expected them rather more frequent by floods.

Keonjhar is a rich State, with a revenue (in 1943) of over eleven lakhs. The population in 1931 was 529,786. The present ruler is Raja Shree Balbhadra Narayan Bhanja Deo, who is by caste a Rajput of the Solar race. His emblem of signature is a peafowl. 'Keonjhar' says Hunter, 'originally formed part of Mayurbhanj; but about two hundred years ago, the tribes of this part, finding it a great hardship to travel through the perilous forests of Mayurbhanj to obtain justice from their Prince, separated themselves, and set up the brother of the Mayurbhanj Raja as their independent Chief. Since then, twenty-seven Rajas have ruled. The last Prince rendered good service during the Kol rebellion in 1857, and was rewarded by Government with the title of Maharaja. He died in 1861 without legitimate issue. On our nominating his natural son, the present Maharaja, to succeed him, a dispute arose as to the succession, which ultimately culminated in an insurrection of the Bhuiya and Juang tribes in favour of an alleged adopted son, which called for the intervention of regular troops before it was suppressed.'¹ The insurrection, however, was mainly the work of the Bhuiya who were, of course, much the most numerous. The Juang appear to have been open to persuasion and many of them attended the ceremony when Dhanurjai was installed, although the Bhuiya boycotted it. When in 1867 Colonel Dalton visited the State, he was able to persuade the members of the important Saont community to declare for Dhanurjai and these were soon followed by the Juang.

Sir W. Hunter was greatly impressed with Dhenkanal State, in the northern hills of which there is a fair population of Juang, and considered that it was 'by far the most advanced of any of the Tributary States.'² It lies between 21° 11' and 20° 31' north and 85° 10' and 86° 2' east with an area of 1,463 square miles and a population that in 1941 was 324,212. The present ruler is Raja Shankar Pratap Singh Deo, Mahindra Bahadur, and the revenue in 1941 was nearly five and a half lakhs of rupees. There are over a thousand villages in the State and two towns. The name Dhenkanal is said to owe its origin to the fact that the founder of the present dynasty killed the first owner of the territory, Dhenka, in a *nala* stream some five hundred years ago; since that day there has been a line of some

¹ Hunter, op. cit., p. 291.

² *ibid.*, p. 283.

two dozen Chiefs who have considerably enlarged their domains by annexation.

The State owes much to the Brahmani river which runs through it from west to east, creating a rich and fertile valley which might be developed even more than it is. North of the Brahmani the country is more hilly and less heavily populated; it is here that the Juang settlements may be found. The chief hill ranges are the Ranjanagura and the Anantpur while to the south-east are the fine Kapilas hills; from these flow many small streams into the Brahmani and its principal tributary, the Ramial. 'The general slope of the State is from west to east and from north to south; the country is undulating and contains a large number of fertile valleys and the soil varies from a rich loam to the gravelly detritus of the hill slopes.'¹ A considerable portion of the forest, which covers nearly one thousand square miles, has now been reserved, and the Juang generally are no longer permitted to practice axe-cultivation. The rainfall averages 58.21 inches, but it is very dry and hot in the summer, the temperature rising to 106°. There are two main centres of trade—the capital Dhenkanal, a good town about 24 miles from Cuttack—and Bhuban on the Brahmani in the extreme east.

Hunter gives an attractive picture of the State as it was in the seventies of the last century. At that time the attitude to shifting cultivation was casual enough. 'The Mahārāja told me,' says Hunter, 'that, as he is anxious to extend cultivation, he asks no rent from any jungle tribe that will settle down. They may cut as much forest as they choose, and cultivate the clearing as long as they please. But all his efforts have failed to induce the nomadic tribes to submit to the toil of permanent husbandry. They willingly burn a patch of jungle, but avoid the question of rent arising, by deserting their clearing every third year. Several of the hill Chiefs try to levy a rent the second year on such clearings; but such efforts only result in the nomadic husbandmen deserting their settlements a year sooner, and having to burn new jungle every third year instead of every fourth. The Chiefs find themselves no richer, and the attempt to levy rent only makes their jungle subjects the poorer and more restless. In Dhenkanal, where the Maharaja looks on the whole subject of jungle clearings with good-natured indifference, and indeed is anxious to encourage them as opening new ground for permanent tillage, the forest tribes seem to lead a contented, well-fed existence. They raise just as much grain or cotton as they require from the virgin soil without the labour of ploughing, and spend their days in hunting, feasting, dancing, sleeping, and sunning themselves at the door of their leafhuts. If they want a little money, or any article that they must buy with money, is there not the sal forest around them waiting to be cut, and sharp lowland traders in the bazaar a day's journey

¹ L. E. B. Cobden-Ramsay, *Bengal Gazetteers* (Calcutta, 1910), p. 163.

off? These latter will only cheat them to the orthodox amount of one half, both in what they buy and in what they sell, and in the result give them a full one fourth of the value of their timber.'¹

Pal Lahara is the smallest, but perhaps the most beautiful, of the States occupied by the Juang. Its area is only 452 square miles, its revenue about a lakh of rupees and its population in 1931 34,130. It has Bonai on the north, Keonjhar to the east, and its population of Bhuiya and Juang has many affinities with the people of the neighbouring areas. The east and north are covered with hills and the beautiful Malyagiri (3,895 feet) towers above the other ranges. The forest is mostly sal and is some of the finest in Orissa. 'There are no rivers in the State, but numerous hill streams, which frequently come down in heavy spate sweeping away the hamlets perched on their banks.'

'This State is alleged to have been founded by Santosh Pal of Dharanagar, some time before the 18th century. The original limits of the State cannot be accurately given. During the 18th century the State appears to have attained its largest limits, consisting of 198 villages, 131 of which were subsequently forcibly taken possession of by the Keonjhar, Talcher and Dhenkanal Rajas, leaving under its sway only 67 villages.

'No Chief of Pal Lahara is said to have obtained any *farman* or *sanad* from the Mughals or Marathas. The Chiefs of this State were formerly styled Zamindars. The late Chief received from Government the personal title of Raja Bahadur, in recognition of the services he rendered in suppressing the Bhuiya rebellion in Keonjhar in 1867-68 A.D. In 1874 A.D. he was vested with the hereditary title of Raja. No Madala Panji or any family history of the Raj family is available; tradition, however, runs that Santosh Pal was the founder of the present ruling family. He is said to have belonged to the Paumar Rajputs of Dharanagar. He went to Puri on pilgrimage with a body of followers, and while returning home was selected by the Savars, Khonds, Malhars, and Jhoras as their Chief. He settled at Lahara and subdued the aboriginal tribes who were then contending among themselves for supremacy. He was called Pal because the Savars concealed him under a heap of straw (*pala*) while fighting with his followers, who were all defeated and put to death. From the official enquiries that were made during the settlement of the dispute that arose between the Maharaja of Keonjhar and the Zamindar of Pal Lahara regarding the supremacy of the former, it was stated that 52 generations had already held sway in Pal Lahara up to A.D. 1778. During that year the Chief, Muni Pal, died without male issue. After his death the management of the State remained for about 47 years in the exclusive hands of his mother, Anna Purna, and of his illegitimate brother Nanda Pal. Anna Purna died in A.D. 1815. Nanda Pal acknowledged the supremacy of Keonjhar and remained in charge

¹ Hunter, op. cit., p. 286.

of the management of the State till he died in 1825. The people of Pal Lahara after his death resisted the claims of Keonjhar, but being defeated, submitted a petition to Colonel Gilbert, the then Political Agent of the South-Western Frontier. Colonel Gilbert ordered the withdrawal of the Keonjhar force from Pal Lahara, and allowed the people to select their own Chief. They chose one Baidya Nath Pal, one of the paternal uncles of the late Chief Muni Pal, whose family has since held the *gadi* for three generations.

The titles of "Ganeshwar Pal" and "Muni Pal" are assumed alternately by the successive Rajas of Pal Lahara when succeeding to the *gadi*. The emblem of the State is a cobra.¹

Another account of the separation of Pal Lahara from Keonjhar is given by Hunter. 'Once upon a time, the Keonjhar Raja compelled his feudatory of Pal Lahara to dance before him in woman's attire. From this affront a deadly quarrel resulted; and at the end, as the price of peace, the Pal Lahara Chief was exempted from any longer paying his tribute through the Keonjhar Raja and now pays it to the British Government direct.'²

It will be of interest to compare the Juang's own traditions of how the Rajas came into being. From Bali comes the following story. After the creation of the world and of man, the Juang said.

'We have no Raja, what shall we do?' They went all the way to Puri searching for a Raja. But the Raja there would not give them one. Two brothers—they were a Juang and a Bhuiya—went to Jagannath and served him for twelve years till he was pleased. Then Jagannath said, 'Mayurbanj has seven sons; the youngest goes every day to the Council School. As he goes, catch and steal him.' The Juang and Bhuiya caught the boy and took him to Jyotipur the banks of the Baitarani. There the elder brother (Juang) went to relieve himself. The Raja was thirsty and the younger brother (Bhuiya) gave him water to drink. Since that day the Juang have been lower than the Bhuiya from whose hands the Raja will drink.

Then came Jagannath in a dream and said, 'Don't keep the Raja here or Mayurbanj will kill you.' So they took the boy to Nayagarh, where there were hills all round and no water. This was bad for a Raja so they went on to Keonjhar, where there are many *kendu* trees. They put the prince under a *kendu* tree and made a small hut and a small field and sowed *sarson* and *mung* and *urid* pulse and had a fine harvest. 'This is the right place for a Raja,' they said. There was a good spring there also. When the boy had grown up and became Raja, the Juang and Bhuiya brothers went to Mayurbanj and begged the Raja's forgiveness and asked the Raja and Rani to come and bless the boy as Raja of Keonjhar. This they did.

A similar tale from Saplanjhi in Keonjhar, which is told by the Juang even though it allots them a place lower than the

¹ Cobden-Ramsay, op. cit., pp. 275-77.

² Hunter, op. cit., p. 309.

Bhuiya, runs as follows: Long ago Rusi set up a wooden pole and worshipped it. His son set up a wooden pole and worshipped it. But when he spoke to it, the pole said nothing. Rusi-putro and his eleven brothers therefore went to fast. After twelve years Rusi told Rusi-putro to go and steal the son of the Raja of Mayurbanj. He and his brother Bhuiya brought the boy to a stream. The Bhuiya brought water and gave the prince to drink through a wooden funnel. But the prince said, 'Give it to me with your own hands.' Since that day the Bhuiya have been Zamindars and the Juang *praja* or subjects.

The most curious of the legends relates to the Baraha Raja, or Pig King. The tale is known all over the Juang country. 'In the old days the Pig King ruled in the Pig City. His hands and feet were a man's, his face and hair were a pig's. Whenever anyone took a girl in marriage to his house, he had to send her to sleep for one night with the Pig King. The Pig King belonged to the Juang tribe.

'One day the Juang asked the King for a small gift, but he refused to give it. The Juang thought, "We give him our wives but he will not give us even the smallest gift." They were angry and stopped the waters of the Kutaseni river where the King used to bathe. Then they sent a knotted string round their villages, which meant that they were going to kill the King.

'They assembled and the King climbed up a siari creeper to escape them. That creeper was very tall and its branches spread widely and covered many villages. The people tried to find the Pig King, but they could not. They thought he had run away and they prepared to make a new King. But a one-eyed man saw where he was hiding; he made a bow and arrow of dab grass and killed the King with it.

'Then the people made an image of a King out of sandalwood and set it up in the ground. On the top they tied a lizard which nodded its head. They thought it wanted something, so they brought piles of roots for it and went away. But when they returned after some time, they found the Raja had eating nothing; there were the roots dry and rotten. The Juang were angry and said, "This is no Raja" and they broke the image. But blood flowed from it. The people were very sorry and went to find another King. But the youths worshipped the broken image with dab grass and sacrificed a boy to it. The head of the image became the sun and the trunk the moon. But the rest of the Juang brought a prince from Mayurbanj. Whenever the Pig King slept with a girl he would take the bangles from one arm; that is why we don't wear glass bangles now.'

III

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE TRIBE

Risley found no sub-divisions of the Juang. But N. K. Bose found two sections—the Thaniya, 'those who dwell in their original

home,' and the Bhagudiya, 'those who fled.' The Thaniya live on the Keonjhar tableland; all the others are Bhagudiya. Bose connects these divisions with the legend of the sinister Pig King. 'It is said that once a Raja who ruled the Juangs took it into his head to be the first person to lie with a Juang bride after her marriage. The Juang became furious and murdered the Raja. They crushed his head in a *dhenki* or husking mill. The meat was distributed in leaf-cups to the Juang who were present. But some of them refused to eat the meat and left the country. They are the Bhagudiya, while those who ate the meat and remained where they were became the Thaniya.'¹

In my legends, however, there is no hint of this. The great division came when the two first brothers became Bhuiya and Juang; the elder brother, the Bhuiya, became lord of the soil and received the kingdom, while the younger brother, the Juang, had to serve. No doubt there will now gradually grow up divisions among the Juang according to the degree of civilization that is adopted. The beef-eaters will form a separate section from the non-beef-eaters; those who dance with the *chāng* may stop eating with those who dance with the *tamko*; differences of dress, ornament and tatooing will further split the tribe. I imagine that the Dhenkanal Juang will very soon be ashamed of their wilder brethren in Keonjhar.

The Juang tribe is divided up into the usual bewildering variety of septs into which it is difficult to bring any ordered scheme. Every village reveals a somewhat different list. I think that the real cause of this confusion is that fundamentally the Juang are divided on a basis of village, rather than sept, exogamy; the septs have come into being partly by imitation, partly as a result of actual historic happenings. For example, a man kills a pigeon and soon afterwards goes blind. The medicine-man connects the blindness and the pigeon. The sufferer decides that the pigeon must be worshipped and protected. Soon he finds himself a member of the Pigeon sept. Juang exogamy is linked more closely with totemism than with the marriage system. Every Juang village should ideally be the home of only one sept. Where by migration there are more than one, it is not considered proper for there to be inter-marriage between them. This is not absolutely forbidden: a certain percentage—23 per cent—of the cases examined were of marriages between members of the same village, but it is definitely a sign of the departure of Sat (truth or religion.).

The septs are linked then to places; each sept has its *māti*, a word used by the Juang much as the Maria and Muria use *bhum*. Where any villagers migrate from their original *māti*, they worship in their new villages in the name of the original village; and from time to time they go to the original *māti* for special worship. This system, however, is hardly alive today. The Juang do not erect

¹ N. K. Bose, 'Juang Associations,' *Man in India*, Vol. IX (1929), p. 51.

menhirs in their original *māti*; there are no great clan festivals; Juang do not have to go once in a life-time to the original home for special pilgrimage. But the idea exists.

The septs are patrilineal, strongly totemistic, and are governed by the usual rules. Thus, a woman joins her husband's sept at marriage and is then freed of all obligations to her family sept. All the members of a sept mourn the death of one of them or damage to the totem tree or animal. Incest within the clan is a very serious tribal offence: it does not seem to be common, but it is punished by leprosy and a child born of such a union is bound to die. 'The fruit of sin never lives.'

I myself would write the Juang word for sept as *bok*. But Bose writes it *bak* and Risley gives it as *ba*. In Dhenkanal the Juang use *sainga*, *baran* or *gutro*, a sign of Oriya Hindu influence. The relationship between members of clans that can inter-marry is called *bandhu*; there are both *bandhu*-septs and *bhai*-septs. The existence of brother-septs may suggest an original dual organization, but I think it more likely that the 'brotherhood' of clans arose in a very unbrotherly fashion (as we will see later) out of quarrels which resulted in the members of two clans refusing to give their daughters to one another.

The origin of the clans is traced to a variety of causes. At Bali the following story was told:

Rusi and Rusain had twelve daughters and twelve sons. They went without food to dance at Gonasika. When they had finished dancing they felt very hungry and the twelve brothers went to hunt. They killed a cow and brought it home telling their parents that it was a sambhar. They buried the head under a stone. But Rusi knew that it was a cow and rebuked them. The boys replied, 'If it is, let water come from its head.' At once from the nostrils water gushed out in a great flood. It carried away the twelve brothers and they were able to save themselves only with the greatest difficulty. One caught hold of the *kirri* tree and became the father of the *Kirriyari* clan; the second climbed onto a stone and became the father of the *Tangropariya* clan; a third caught hold of a *sarai* tree and became the father of the *Sariya* clan; another caught hold of a *champa* tree and became the father of the *Champai* clan; another climbed into a *machān* and became the father of the *Rundali* clan; another caught hold of a *jetua* creeper and became the father of the *Jetua* clan; another climbed on the back of the tortoise and became the father of the *Koicho* clan; another got onto the back of a *sarangi* fish and became the father of the *Sarambo* clan; another caught hold of the grass called *lanjhia* and became the father of the *Lanjhia* clan; another caught hold of the *siāri* creeper and became the father of the *Sariyari* clan; another caught hold of the *salar* tree and became the father of the *Salar* clan; the last caught hold of the *saiko* grass and became the father of the *Saiko* clan.

This story, which closely resembles similar tales current among the Gond, Muria and other tribes, gives us a list of twelve sept's each with an appropriate totem.

Champai	..	The tree, <i>Michelia champaca</i> , Linn.
Jetua	..	A creeper.
Kirriyari	..	A tree, probably <i>Cleistanthus collinus</i> , Benth.
Koicho	..	The tortoise.
Lanjhia	..	The grass, <i>Heteropogon contortus</i> .
Rundali	..	Something tied up, a <i>māchān</i> platform.
Saiko	..	A grass.
Salar	..	The tree, <i>Boswellia serrata</i> , Roxb.
Sarambo	..	A fish. ¹
Sariari	..	The creeper, <i>Bauhinia vahlii</i> , W & A.
Sariya	..	The tree, <i>Shorea robusta</i> , Gaertn.
Tangropariya	..	The name of a stone. ²

In Jamara (Pal Lahara) I was given a different list and a different story of origin.

Long ago when the first eleven brothers went to cut their clearings, they divided up the jungle and each made a mark on a tree to show that the jungle round the tree was his. Dharam Deota then made each of these divisions into a Pat.

They were thus divided into these twelve divisions—

Baliyari Pat	..	The brother made a mark on his tree with sand; the clan honours sand.
Barigo Pat	..	A tree.
Champariya Pat	..	The tree, <i>Michelia champaca</i> , Linn.
Halaiboki Pat	..	The brother spat to mark his tree.
Kandua Pat	..	A tree.
Kendua Pat	..	A tree.
Kirriyari Pat	..	Probably the tree, <i>Cleistanthus collinus</i> , Benth.
Pendpenda Pat	..	A tree.
Rangsariya Pat	..	The brother marked his tree with turmeric.
Rondariya Pat	..	The clearing was on a separate hill, for the brother who died.
Sariyari Pat	..	The creeper, <i>Bauhinia vahlii</i> , W & A.
Tangropariya Pat	..	A stone.

Yet another tradition definitely assigns a geographical basis to the clans. The Juang of Kariapani (Keonjhar) said, 'As we brought the Raja from Mayurbhanj the people chased us crying, "Thief, thief" and we scattered to various villages, and took our clans

¹ According to Risley, the Saramba clan is named after the tigress, but here—by a rather bad pun—after the *sarangi* fish.

² Bose says that this name is taken from Tangarpal village in Keonjhar State, as in my list from Dhenkanal.

from the places where we sheltered.' In Dhenkanal, the story goes that, 'When Rusi had his twelve sons, they were not all born in the same place. When a child was born Rusi and Rusain used to stay with him for a while, then leave him in the place of his birth and move on to another place for the birth of the next boy. In this way twelve boys were born in twelve different places.' This list is, as we might expect, entirely different from those already given.

Atisarbok	..	Born at Atisar village.
Baliyaribok	..	Born at Baliyar village.
Baningbok	..	There was a bear (<i>banai</i>) in the neighbourhood when the boy was born.
Bhuitinibok	..	The boy was born on the bank of the Bhuitini River.
Dumariyabok	..	The boy was born under a fig tree.
Mundiyaribok	..	Probably village of <i>bassia latifolia</i> trees, or the boy was born under this tree.
Nachingbok	..	Born at Naching village.
Odoriyabok	..	Born at Odoriya village.
Rakebok	..	Born at Rake village.
Rasarbok	..	The boy was born where mushrooms were growing.
Sarambok	..	A tigress looked after the boy when Rusi and his mother left him.
Tangropariyabok		Born at Tangarpal village.

Yet another, and almost entirely different list from Dhenkanal, attributes the origin of each clan to an incident in the historic past of the tribe. Here six clans are given—

Dumariyabok.
 Gunachibok.
 Hardabok.
 Kaptobok.
 Semribok.
 Tariyaparabok.

The origin of these clans each requires a separate paragraph. The Dumariya clan arose in this way. 'A man and his wife had no child. The husband used to sigh and say, "If only we had a child!" One day, as he was wandering sad and disappointed through the forest, he sat down to rest under a fig tree.¹ When he saw the figs hanging many and ripe above him he thought, "If only my wife was like this tree, what happiness we would have." Now in this tree was a hole about the height of a man's waist above the ground. The man went to the tree in this hole. In due time a human child was born from one of the figs and he was the father of the Dumariya clan.'

¹ *Dumar*, that is, *Ficus glomerata*, Roxb.

The Gunachi is the Squirrel clan. 'A man and his wife had four children. The woman died and her husband had to look after the children. One day he left them alone and went to dig for roots. Near his house was a tree where a squirrel lived. A vulture swooped down and carried off one of the children. The squirrel carried the others into its nest and hid them. When the father returned home and found all his children gone he wept. But the squirrel brought the three babies out of its nest and told the father what had happened. The man was consoled and worshipped the squirrel. His descendants never kill the squirrel and when it dies they weep as for a member of their own family.'

The Hardabok is named after the satinwood tree (*Chloroxylon swietenia*, D.C.). 'Long ago, there was a Juang whose eyes broke. He ground up some *harda* fruit and tied it to his eyes and in time he recovered his sight. He said, "This tree is my mother." He dressed the tree with leaves in front and behind, tying them in place with an earthen girdle and worshipped it.'

The Kaptobok is the Wood Pigeon clan. 'A Juang kept a pigeon. He had some little children. He left the pigeon and the children in his house and went to work in his forest clearing. A wild elephant came to the house and was about to kill the children; but the pigeon fought it; it flapped its wings in its eyes and drove it away. When the Juang returned, the pigeon told him what had happened and asked that it might go to its home. The Juang let it go. As it bade farewell it said, "Never eat the flesh of my tribe." Some time afterwards that Juang killed a pigeon by accident. He took the flesh home and cooked and ate it. The next day his eyes broke and he was blind to the day of his death.'

The Semribok is connected with the *semur* (*Bombax malabaricum*, D.C.). 'Long ago when the Juang were bringing the Raja of Keonjhar by force to his kingdom and his people were pursuing them, one of the Juang was caught. He swore on a tiger's skin, on earth from an ant-hill, on his own head that he had nothing to do with the affair. The Mayurbhanj people said, "Stand under this *semur* tree. We will cut it down and it will fall on you. If you are unhurt and no blood comes from the wounds made by the thorns we will believe you. Otherwise we will kill you." That Juang whispered to the tree, "If you fall lightly as a flower upon me, I will worship you as a god." The Mayurbhanj people then cut the tree and it fell with a great crash. But wherever it touched the Juang it was like the brushing of many flowers and he was unhurt. He was released, and ever since his family has worshipped the *semur* tree. They never cut it and if they find anyone damaging it they abuse him.'

Finally the Tariyaparabok is the clan of the toddy palm (*Borassus flabellifer*, Linn.). 'A man and his wife had no children. One day the man brought home a toddy fruit to his wife and forced her to eat it. She became pregnant as a result and a child was born. Since that day we never cut the toddy palm or drink its juice. It is our god.'

I will give one more list of clans noted along the borders of Pal Lahara and Keonjhar.

Baliyaribok	..	Born from a <i>bhiwaan</i> tree (<i>Semecarpus anacardium</i> , Linn.).
Banaibok	..	The bear.
Barunbok	..	Born from the sand of the Baiturni River.
Bhuituriyabok		Born of a she-buffalo.
Darabok	..	The pigeon.
Gungibok	..	A grain also known as <i>kangu</i> .
Halaibok	..	A tree.
Kedarbok	..	A tree.
Kirimbok	..	A tree.
Kumakuliabok.		Born of flying ants.
Lanjhibok	..	The grass, <i>Heteropogon contortus</i> .
Nachingbok or	..	The hare. Born from a human father
Keriyabok		out of the belly of a hare.
Parsabok	..	Born of a parsa tree (<i>Butea frondosa</i> , Roxb.).
Puruwibok	..	They used to eat beef on the leaves of this <i>puruwi</i> or <i>ghui</i> tree. The leaves complained to Rusi and the Juang thought they must be divine.
Randabok	..	A tree.
Sahibok	..	A tree.
Saikambok	..	The <i>sawa</i> grain.
Samnarbok	..	A tree.
Sarlabasuriyabok.		Born from the bamboo.
Temberembekok.		A tree.

The clans with tree totems in the above list are said to go back to the day when the first brothers divided the forest clearings. Members of the clans do not wear the leaves of their totem, do not cut the trees, do not burn the wood and do not eat off the leaves.

But not all these clans can inter-marry. The above list falls into four *kutumb* or agnate groups, as follows:

Kedarbok	Kirimbok.
Kirimbok	Darabok.
Banaibok	Lanjhibok.
Saikambok	Tangropariyabok.
Nachingbok	Gungibok.
Sahibok	Sarambok.
Samnarbok	Temberembekok.

The Juang theory is that all these clans were formerly *bandhu* and could inter-marry. But certain clans quarrelled and refused to give their daughters to one another and so became *kutumb* or brother-clans. I was able to get details of a few of these quarrels. The stories are instructive as giving a possible, and indeed plausible, reason for the growth of clan-organization.

For example, 'Kirimbok and Kedarbok were formerly *bandhu* clans. Kirim had a son, so had Kedar. Kirim went to find a daughter for his son; Kedar went to find a daughter for his son. They met in the road and each spoke at the same moment, saying, "Where are you going?" Since they each said the same thing at the same moment, they became brothers.'

'Tangropariya married his daughter to Kirim's son. The two families were near neighbours. Tangropariya's little daughter used to relieve herself near Kirim's house. This made Kirim very angry and one day he killed the girl. At that time there was no Raja to settle the case. So Kirim and Tangropariya sat together and decided it. Tangropariya said, "From today I will not give you my daughters. From today we will be brothers."'

'Dara and Kirim went to cut their clearing together. When the time came to sow the seed they quarrelled. Mahapurub came and not knowing that they were *bandhu*, said, "Why are you brothers quarrelling? Divide the seed like brothers." So from that day they became brothers.'

'Lanjhi's son married Kirim's daughter. The woman had no children. Lanjhi quarrelled with Kirim about this. "Since your daughter," he said, "has given my son no children, I will never give you a girl again." So saying he separated the two, man and wife, and from that day the Kirimbok and Lanjhibok are brother-clans.'¹

I will give finally two other lists, one by Risley and the other by N. K. Bose. Risley's list contains twenty-four names.

Alemba	.. Hailstones.
Baitiriba	.. Buffalo.
Balimba	.. Mosquito.
Banaiba	.. Bear.
Barataba	.. Boar.
Dumriaba	.. A kind of tree.
Gaghraba	.. Paddy.
Hatisalaba	.. Elephant.
Jarigamba	.. <i>Jari</i> tree.
Kalimba	.. Tobacco flower.
Kanchaba	.. Dog.
Kelobo	.. Bee.
Keralaba	.. Pumpkin.
Kotabandab	..
Lihimba	.. Dove.
Mundiba	.. <i>Bassia latifolia</i> tree.
Munduba	.. Small mushroom.
Odhalaba	.. Fox.
Rangataba	.. A kind of yellow-coloured bird.

¹ In Pitnari a similar division of clans was attributed to witchcraft. The Raonsari clan originated because in the old days 'we paid our taxes in *haldi* and the Raja gave us this name.' Then Raonsari and Sarigari were *bandhu*, but the Raonsari girls were witches and killed their husbands, so the clans became 'brothers' and no longer intermarried.

Rasamba	..	Mushrooms that grow on ant-hills.
Saramba	..	Tigress.
Sundriaba	..	Red mushroom.
Talahadaba	..	Palm tree.
Tenshaba	..	A bird. ¹

N. K. Bose gives two lists. The first was obtained at Kantara in Pal Lahara State, a small village almost deserted when I visited it, about three miles distant from the capital. The second list was from Patuasahi, a village also near the capital of Dhenkanal.

Pal Lahara	Dhenkanal	
Banaibak	Banaingengbak	Odhodabak
Baningbak	Barachbak	Olengbak
Bangrudbak	Buitinibak	Rangatebak
Buitinibak	Chhamundiabak	Sadimbak
Dadabak	Dunguriyabak	Sarangbak
Gungibak	Hatisadbak	Sindiriabak
Halaebak	Kalimbak	Tadahadabak
Hatisadiabak	Kanchabak	Teisbak
Keredabak	Karadabak	
Kiringbak	Kiringbak	
Lanjimbak	Kelabak	
Munuingbak	Kutabandabak	
Sarembak (or Sarangbak).	Lehungbak	
Tangarpaliyabak	Munuingbak	

Bose notes that of these the Dada, Kiring and Lanjim form a group of brother-clans and the Tangarpaliya, Sarem and Baning form another such group. My own enquiries confirm his first group, but suggest a somewhat different arrangement from his second.

IV

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE TRIBE

Juang society is governed by a combination of secular and religious leaders. Every village has a Dihuri or Bhuitar as the head of its priests and diviners, and a Padhan as its secular head. Each Pirh has a Sardar at its head with seven to ten Padhan under him, but in the absence of any official recognition of this arrangement the Sardar does not hold so important a position as that enjoyed, for example, by the Pargana Manjhi of Bastar State.

The Padhan, who sometimes combines in his person the function also of Dihuri or Bhuitar, has to collect dues and taxes on behalf of the authorities and forward them to the capital. On the rare occasion of an official visit it is supposed to be his duty to make

¹ Risley, op. cit., Vol II, Appendixes, p. 6r.

arrangements for a camp and to see to supplies, though when I was touring I found that almost everywhere the Padhan had discovered an urgent engagement in some other village on the very day I arrived. With the Dihuri he supervises generally the affairs of the Darbar and plays an important part in the village tribunal when it deals with such scandals as adultery, a pre-nuptial pregnancy or association with a member of a forbidden community.

The Dihuri and the Bhuitar are priests and divide ceremonial duties between them. In Pal Lahara the Bhuitar was the more important of the two. His duties were these: to worship the Ancestors at festivals wherever he is invited, to purify mourners at a funeral, to tie the hands of bride and groom together at a marriage, to re-admit the excommunicated back to their tribal privileges. The Dihuri's chief work is to perform the worship of the village gods, to decide the dates for felling trees in the clearings, for firing the clearings, for sowing and reaping. In some villages the sacred seed is kept in his house. He has an important function in the Darbar where he is the ultimate court of appeal. He leads the villagers out to hunt and performs the preliminary ceremonies. With the Padhan he presides over the village panchayat.

The Rau-uria is a diviner and magician. There may be a number of these in a large village. He is not exactly an official, yet he may have a stronger influence than that of many officials, for his inspired utterances must be considered; it is always dangerous to ignore a Rau-uria's dream or warning.

The Dangua is a general assistant headman of no great importance. There are not usually village watchmen; in any case the watchman would be a Pan.¹ In Keonjhar, when I was there, there was little attempt at any regular reporting of births and deaths. From time to time the Padhan would go to the nearest police station and tell what he could remember. Arrangements are stricter in Dhenkanal, but the Juang Pih of Keonjhar still in 1942 was largely managing its own affairs without interference from outside.

Village officials receive no remuneration from the State, but the Dihuri is given some special land. At each festival or public ceremony he receives a measure of grain from every household; this varies according to circumstances, but in Biranmunda I was told that the amount was four *paili* of unhusked grain from each household. Sometimes chickens are also given, and there is a regular tribute of liquor. When a decision is made in the panchayat, the Dihuri shares part of the fine with the Padhan. The Bhuitar in Pal Lahara receives from the villagers every year five *paili* of unhusked rice, two *paili* of husked rice and five pieces of *pita*-bread. For every child who is born he is given four annas and four *paili* of rice. For every funeral he gets four annas. For each marriage he gets a small cloth and four annas. All the village officials

¹ Member of the great Pano, Panka, Ganda or Dom caste which, under various names, exists parasitically on the aborigines all over Middle India.

get special shares of any game that is killed in the ceremonial hunt, and they can command many advantages and small services from the people.

It is important that this system of public service and its remuneration should proceed without interference. In Kedahatar the Dihuri once went to perform the ceremonies at Kandobari. He asked for a fowl from every house. The people said, 'There are no fowls here' and refused to give him anything. The Dihuri thought, 'Now the water in my field has dried, how shall I live?' But he sent his son to plough though he did not perform the ceremonies, a thing forbidden under Juang custom, and as he went home he himself was killed and eaten by a tiger. After his death, his brother omitted to perform the ceremonies at the Nawakaya, thinking that as his brother was dead they would not be necessary. He ate the new rice without sacrifice and he too died. Then the people called a Dihuri from another village. Kendua Pat came upon him and in his trance he revealed the cause of the tragedies and indicated who was to be the new Dihuri.

The posts of Dihuri and Padhan are hereditary; the Bhuitar is sometimes appointed by general consent. If a Padhan dies when his son is a boy, the people make a small enclosure in a corner of the Darbar and tie the dead man's *parsa*-axe in cloth and put it there. This then is supposed to hold the office of Padhan until the boy is old enough to perform his duties. When he succeeds the boy offers a goat and kills it with that very axe; he himself eats the goat's head and thence forward keeps the axe in his house. As always before any new venture, omens must be taken; when the goat is offered a new earthen pot is placed on a fire, water is put in it, and if the water dries in an hour the appointment is ratified.

In some parts of Keonjhar (in Bansphar and Kajariya, for example), there is a rule that village officials should have a lot of hair.¹ In addition to the usual top-knot and moustache they should wear beards. The right to this adornment is inherited by the eldest son. The Padhan of Khajariya died and his eldest son then grew a beard; when he died the next brother grew one. But nowadays ordinary villagers also grow beards, and the Juang in this village said that this was a sign that Sat had left them. The officials must have their hair done by unmarried boys belonging to the Darbar. Only they may wear the top-knot, 'for gods live there.' At the time of bathing and sacrifice they must undo it, otherwise 'the gods will remain tied up and the witches and ghosts will not run away.'

Bhuitar, Padhan and Dangua should never go to funerals. When they themselves die, their bodies are carried out by unmarried boys and the pyre must be lit from fire from the Darbar. For ordinary people, anyone can carry out the corpse and there is no special rule about fire.

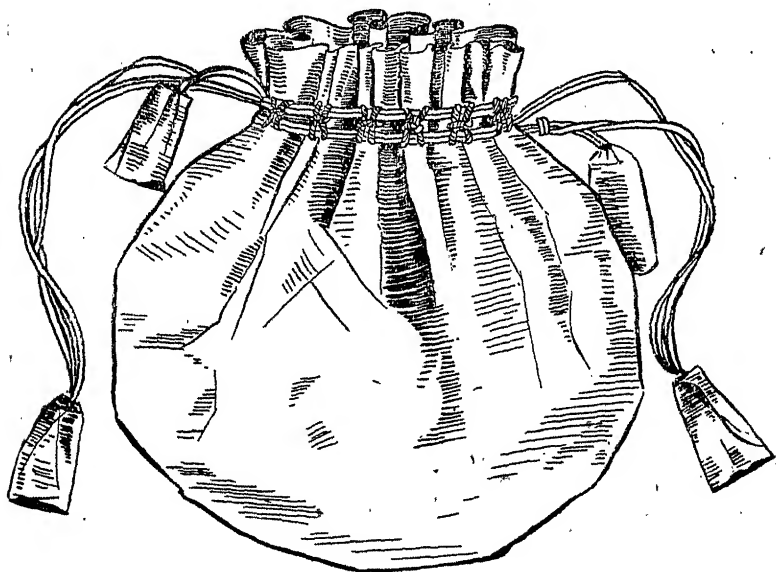
¹ But women are said to dislike beards and moustaches. If a boy has a moustache, his girl may laugh at him saying, 'You're an old man.' They prefer a smooth face and chin.

PART TWO

I

LIFE IN A JUANG VILLAGE

To see a typical Juang village one must go to the highest uplands of Keonjhar. Here are some of the most picturesque hamlets in peninsular India, comparable only to the enchanting Bondo villages of the Koraput Hills. Each village stands self-contained within a large fence in a site chosen not only for convenience but also for beauty. The houses, little huts of mud with red walls, are either in a huddle on top of one another or are neatly arranged, as at Korba, in narrow streets not more than ten feet wide. The roofs come low down and there are seldom proper verandahs. Often two huts are joined together and there are sometimes as many as half a dozen joined into one coherent row. Near by are excellent sheds for goats and cattle. At Balipal there were a few gardens inside the village enclosure and this broke up the unity, but generally



Tobacco-pouch

the gardens for tobacco or oil crops are scattered outside the fence. In the centre of the village is an open space used for a dancing ground in front of the often imposing village dormitory or club, the Darbar, where the unmarried youths sleep and the elders assemble on all important occasions.

The Pal Lahara villages have the same atmosphere but they are much smaller and except at Tambur I found no Darbar halls. These villages are miserably poor and the huts are smaller than any I have seen. At Biranmunda the Juang hamlet was like a bee-hive. The dozen houses were cramped together into a tiny

enclosure, the little courtyards opened onto one another, the back of one house being the wall of its neighbour's court. Nan Gan, like Sukhdeopur, was more spacious, but the houses were small and mousey like the men who lived in them.

The Juang shift their village sites from time to time as the forest available for cultivation becomes exhausted. It is no light matter to choose a new site. There must be a good supply of water; the surrounding jungle must be suitable for axe-cultivation; and the omens must be favourable. When the villagers have found a good place, the Bhuitar makes a cowdunged patch on the ground. He puts a black hen under a pot, fixes it in place with cowdung and goes away. If next morning the hen is all right, they take it as a sign that the place is approved by the village gods and ancestors. Sometimes they proceed by the *panji* divination, which consists of making a number of little piles of rice—one grain placed above two others—covering them with a pot, leaving them all night and examining the result in the morning. If none of the grains have fallen down, the omen is favourable.

After this the Bhuitar erects the first pillar after putting two rye seeds and some Virgin Iron (here iron slag) into the hole. He ties seven mango leaves to it by tying a thread round it seven times. He places a new pot over the top of the pillar and it is essential that no bird should perch or let its droppings fall upon it. The rest of the villagers make their houses in the same way. When the settlement is ready, the Bhuitar offers a fowl before the new site for the Gram Siri and they cowdung their houses and cook in new pots. Each household should kill a fowl and eat off siari leaves on this day. The following morning they have a ceremonial hunt, and if it is successful it is considered very lucky indeed and that the new village will be free of disease and tragedy. In Korba the Juang said that when they made a new house they did not eat meat there for two months.

To ignore the omens is of course very dangerous. At Kirtanpur in Dhenkanal there was a whole chain of tragedies from this cause. In the first settlement they made a panther carried off a kitten and the people thought they would die if they stayed on there. The Dihuri consulted the omens, making three piles of rice for Basuki, Mahapat and Taneshwar Mahapat, to discover whether they should move to the west.

But before he had the chance to examine the omens, a constable took him away on *begar*. The villagers examined the piles and to their untutored eyes they appeared correct. Actually, though Basuki and Mahapat were favourable, Taneshwar Mahapat was hostile, but they did not realize this. So they shifted their settlement to the west and built their houses.

After a year the Dihuri died. His grandson died. The Bhuitar died. The Padhan died. The people sent for a Rau-uria and he discovered the mistake that had been made. Special sacrifices were at once made to Taneshwar Mahapat, and to be on the safe

side Ganeshwar Mahapat, Basuki and Mahapat were also honoured. But the shaman advised the villagers to take no more risks and they abandoned the tragic site and returned to their original home.

Juang life is regular and simple. The people rise very early. Their first act is to rinse their faces with water, then they go to excrete and wash afterwards—the former custom was to clean themselves with leaves, but I think everywhere now water is used. They then clean their teeth and there is a universal use of the tooth-twig. This is accounted for by a story of Rusi and Rusiain.

One day when Rusi went to the jungle, he made two wooden dolls, covered them with earth to make them look nice, dressed them in leaves, and went home. Mahaprabhu and Parvati came by. Parvati saw the dolls and begged Mahaprabhu to give them the gift of life. He did so and presently Parvati went to look at them and found them playing together. 'But what will they eat?' she asked. Mahaprabhu took two twigs and put them in their mouths. But Parvati said, 'How will they eat wood?' Give them some grain.' 'Where can I get grain from?' 'At least let us go and look for some.' At last they found Lakmi, and sent her to live with the dolls. But they still kept the twigs and every day put them in their mouths so that they might eat well.

After an early meal of anything left over from the previous day's supper, men and women begin the day's work. Much of this is a joint labour, but there are certain tasks taboo to women. They must not plough or sow seed. They must not make baskets or put grass on a roof. They must not lift a carrying-stick, kill chickens, cut people's hair or climb trees after they are mature. They must not touch an arrow or even go near it or approach the place where sacrifice is being offered. But men and women go to the clearings together, and women are specially adept at digging for roots. This food-quest is, of course, the first duty of the day. Women get roots and jungle fruit, leaves for vegetables, and leaves both for their dress and to be used as plates. They fetch water and cowdung their houses or wash them with red mud, generally keeping them spotlessly clean.

The men do the heavier work of the clearings, tend the gardens when they have them, see to the tobacco patch, and go out hunting and fishing. Women may not join the hunt but they are allowed to fish. Both men and women do bamboo work, but women are only allowed to make mats; they do not usually make baskets. It is said that,

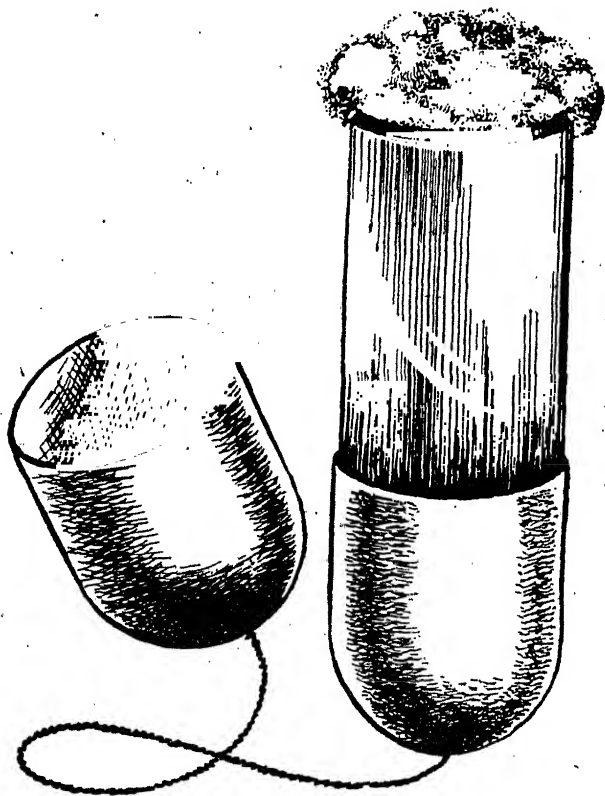
Bas Deo's wife told her daughter-in-law, 'Make mats' and told her son, 'Make baskets, if you have any difficulty in getting enough to eat.' This is why women do not make baskets.

Basketry has been developed chiefly in Pal Lahara where the stopping of axe-cultivation has reduced the people to almost complete beggary. The Juang there said they could make one large and one small basket in a day, but this did not include the time spent in

fetching the bamboos. For a small basket they got one pice and for a large basket two pice in the bazaar ; thus the most that this cottage industry could produce was three pice a day. They paid a tax of eight annas, or the equivalent of sixteen big baskets as duty to the State for the privilege of using the bamboos from their own forests.

In Dhenkanal some of the Juang are employed to make lac. When they start a tree with lac, they offer below it opium, *gānja*, a white fowl and a small goat. Then they take parched rice in their hands and go round the trees eating as they go and throwing the parched rice at every tree. The idea is 'that as the parched rice breaks, so the lac will break out on the tree.'

The Juang take a meal a little before midday ; if they are out in their clearings this is taken to them by their womenfolk. After food they continue their work till evening. Throughout the day



Bamboo holder for cotton (see page 38)

they take brief periods of rest for stimulant or refreshment. Their greatest comfort is tobacco. They recognize half a dozen kinds

of this and grow it carefully in little plantations near their houses. A manure of goat's dung is considered valuable for making the tobacco strong. After the leaves are cut, they are spread in the sun, covered with rice-chaff for a week and then hung up. The leaves must be stored in bundles tied very carefully so that no air can get at them, for otherwise they will lose their strength. The Keonjhar Juang keep their tobacco in pleasant little bags, and light their pipes with flint, the spark being caught by an ingenious bamboo container stuffed with bombax cotton and closed with a tassa cap.

Liquor is another restorative that helps the people to face the very heavy work that often comes to them. But the Juang did not strike me as specially drunken. Like most aboriginals, they like to drink a lot at a celebration, at a festival, funeral or marriage, but they are not 'dram-drinkers' and they do not regularly drink anything but toddy juice. This is very popular and round Malyagiri there are many fine trees which the Juang may tap at will. When they tap the palm the incision is called 'the old girl's vagina' and the knife is 'the old boy's penis.' The first juice should be given to women. If the juice fails they say the tree is in its period and they stop drinking. Sacrifices are made to the Seven Kaniya Sisters at the foot of the tree.

Kusna-pachi or rice-beer is not made by the Juang in Keonjhar or Dhenkanal, but the Pal Lahara people sometimes prepare it. The drink is not absolutely taboo to Juang, but they do not usually make it and prefer to take it from their neighbours; the Bhuiya are enthusiastic brewers of the beer. *Moholia mado*, or home-distilled liquor from the corollae of the *bassia latifolia* is more popular. They dry the flowers and beat them, then put the cleaned flowers in boiling water. When thoroughly cooked they strain out the water and mix it with half a seer of date palm or toddy juice, keeping it in a closed pot all night in a cool place. Before drinking, they drop a few drops on the ground in honour of Rusi Rusain, Rawansar and the Ancestors.

The Juang have a tradition that it is dangerous to drink either liquor or water from vessels made of bell-metal, for 'one's eyes may break.' They use a hollow bamboo both to store liquids and to drink from. In the old days, they said, they used to cook in the hollow bamboo and drink from a gourd, for 'these were given us by Rusi and Pathar Saharoni.' Even now they make a small mark on every gourd used for drinking in the name of Rusi and Pathar Saharoni.

In the evening there may be dancing in front of the Darbar. I describe the night life of the boys and girls in another section. The people have no cots and lie on the bare floor, possibly on a little straw. They rarely have any bedding and simply lie down as near the fire as they can. In the Darbar boys lie in a circle each with his feet to the fire which they keep blazing all night. I will not readily forget going by night into one of the Juang hamlets of Sukhdeopur

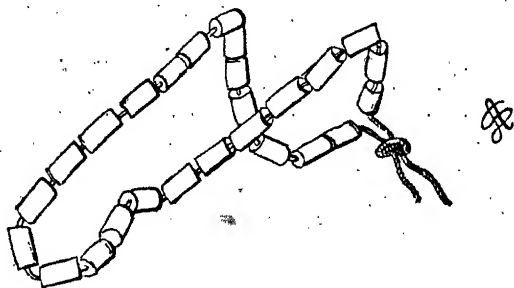
and seeing old women naked but for a single rag or a string of leaves, lying on the bare ground and trying to get a little warmth from their exiguous fires.

II

THE LEAF-DRESS

Col. Dalton met Juang in 1866 while he was engaged in settling a boundary dispute between Keonjhar and Bonai. 'The females', he says, 'had not amongst them a particle of clothing, their sole covering for purposes of decency consisted in a girdle composed of several strings of beads from which depended before and behind small curtains of leaves. Adam and Eve sewed fig leaves together and made themselves aprons. The Juangs are not so far advanced; they take young shoots of the Asan (*Terminalia tomentosa*) or any tree with long soft leaves, and arranging them to form a flat and scale-like surface of the required size, the sprigs are simply stuck in the girdle fore and aft and the toilet is complete. The girls were well developed and finely formed specimens of the race, and as the light leafy costume left the outlines of the figure entirely nude, they would have made good studies for a sculptor.

'The beads that form the girdle are small tubes of burnt earthenware made by the weavers. They also wore a profusion of necklaces of glass beads, and brass ornaments in their ears and on their wrists.' Dalton goes on to describe how he brought a party of men and women to his tent and 'whilst I conversed with the males on their customs, language and religion, the girls sat nestled together in a corner, for a long time silent and motionless as statues, but



Tubes for a Juang girdle

after an hour or two had elapsed the crouching nymphs showed signs of life and symptoms of uneasiness, and more attentively regarding them I found that great tears were dropping from the downcast eyes like dew drops on the green leaves. On my tenderly seeking the cause of their distress, I was told that the leaves were becoming dry, stiff, and uncomfortable, and if they were not allowed to go to the woods for a change, the consequences would be serious, and they certainly could not dance. It was a bright dry day,

and the crisp rustling as they rose to depart confirmed the statement.¹

The Juang account for their leaf-dress by a number of legends. Two contradictory traditions may be distinguished. One tells how the Juang were originally naked and considers that the wearing of leaves was a step forward in the process of civilization; the other represents the Juang as dressed and even well-dressed in silk or cotton cloth and their leaf attire as due to a curse laid upon them.

A Pal Lahara story tells how,

Rusi and his wife lived on roots. When they had many children Rusi said to his wife, 'Formerly we were but two and we did well on roots. But what are we to do with the children?' His wife said, 'Feed them on roots like ourselves.' So they went to dig for roots for their children. When they found the place the woman sat down to dig and Rusi stood by. She spread out her legs and her thing was visible. Rusi saw it and turned his head away. His wife said, 'What are you looking at? Why don't you look at me?' But he looked away all the more. The wife went on talking but he said not a word. Then she wearied and cried, 'O Mahapurub! Why won't he talk to me?' Mahapurub came to her and said, 'Go to the *humi* tree and pick its leaves for a dress.' But she did not know how to put on the leaves. Mahapurub himself picked fourteen leaves and tied seven in front and seven behind. When he saw that Rusi cried, 'She is Patharsarni indeed,' and began to laugh loudly. He himself made a belt of the *humi* bark and wore it.

Here modesty seems to be the motive for dressing. In a Keonjhar legend it is vaguely connected with the beginning of menstruation.

In the old days, all men lived naked. They did not even wear leaves. Men and women lay down together naked on the ground. One day a house-rat bit a woman between her thighs and blood flowed from the place. Rusi saw it and made women wear leaves. Because the rat put its nose into the vagina, if ever it touches water the water stinks.

A version of the legend from Phanasnasa connects the leaf-attire with Bhima and the discovery of fire.

There lived an Asur. It was devouring men. Of the five Pandava brothers all were married but the youngest, Bhima. He built a Darbar for himself and lived there. He taught the people to eat roots. There was no fire in those days. The five brothers went to hunt and night fell. They sent Bhima to look for fire. In the jungle was the daughter of that Asur. Bhima came to her house and asked for fire. She said, 'Here I sit naked in my house; how can I come out to give you fire?' Bhima made a dress of leaves and threw it in to her. She put it on and gave him fire.

¹ Dalton, op. cit., p. 155.



Juang woman as drawn by Strange (J.A.S.B. Vol. XXV)

When Bhima rejoined his brothers with the fire, they said, 'You are very late ; why have you been so long ?' When he told them what had happened, they said, 'You have given her a dress and you have made her your's. You must marry her.' The girl's name was Patrosurni. The Asur fought against him,

but Bhima destroyed him. He married the girl and they lived together in the jungle. Thus the Juang began and wore leaves. It was because Bhima ate roots and lived in the Darbar that he was strong enough to defeat the Asur.

But there is another, entirely different, tradition. At Kantara, for example, the legend goes that,

We are Rusi-putro, the sons of Naiko Rusi. When we were born he gave us beautiful clothes, long strips of silk for dhoti, sari or turban. But one day during the Pus Punni Festival the women finished all the work of the house except the cow-dunging. They went to bathe and returned with wet clothes. They thought, 'If we cow-dung the floors now, our clothes will be spoilt.' They took their clothes off, dressed themselves in leaves and so cow-dunged the floors. At this time Dharam Deota came by and seeing them was angry. 'I gave you fine clothes, and you've gone and dressed yourselves in leaves. Very well, from today you will be Pathar-paharoni Juang, leaf-wearing Juang.' So saying he took away their clothes and disappeared.

A Gonasika version of the legend is similar. According to this the sons and daughters of Rusi went to dance at Gonasika and when they got home they found their houses filthy. They began to cow-dung the floors and soon dirtied the beautiful clothes that Dharam Deota had given them. They looked at their bottoms and could see nothing but cow-dung. So they took off their clothes, put on leaves and went on with their work. Dharam Deota said, 'I have given you good food and good clothes, yet you wear leaves.' 'But we are doing it to save our clothes.' 'If you want to save them, you will lose them.' He sent them to wear leaves and eat fruit and roots in the jungle.

I give later an account of creation which describes how Markand Rusi tore his loin-cloth into four pieces, one of which he gave to himself, two to his two sons and one to his two daughters. One daughter wore leaves and became a Juang, the other wore the bit of loin-cloth and became a Bhuiya. Dalton has yet another story. The traditions to account for the leaf-attire, he says, 'are apparently of Brahmanical concoction. There are several; the simplest and prettiest is connected with the origin of the Baitarni. The river goddess emerging for the first time from the Gonasika rock, came suddenly on a rollicking party of Juangs dancing naked, and ordering them to adopt leaves at that moment as a covering, laid on them the curse that they must adhere to that costume for ever or die.' But this story, continues Dalton, 'is told for the Juangs rather than by them. Their own idea simply is the converse of the rule of civilized nations. They deem that the fashion of dress should never change, and that for females especially it should be simple and cheap.' To this Dalton adds an interesting point. 'The notion must tend to conserve the Juangs in their present habits of hill and forest life. They must be where

there is a plentiful supply of the material of nature's providing. I have not heard of any of the tribe having settled in places where it would be difficult to follow their inclination in dress.¹

The leaf-dress is a simple and natural one. So long as the Juang live to themselves in the recesses of their hills, so long as there are no outside eyes to pry and stare, it is well adapted to the innocent ways of the people. Any kind of large leaf can be used. The leaves are brought from the jungle in the early morning, laid on the ground in rows and pressed flat with earth or stones. A girdle is made with a large number of bugles of baked earth which are threaded onto strips of bark-cord; the girdle is a substantial thing, fairly heavy, sometimes as thick as a dozen or fifteen rows of cords and bugles. The leaves are stuck into this by the sprigs so as to form thick aprons back and front; the loins are left uncovered.

These leaves are full of magic, and have to be carefully protected. The previous day's leaves are thrown away very early in the morning while it is still dark, not even the husband knowing where. They are thrown into a pit and the wearer spits on them. Great care must be taken to pick up any leaf or bit of leaf that falls from the girdle. Once, when Sat was in the world, wherever one of the leaves fell a spring of water appeared. But now that there is no more Sat in the Juang tribe, if a leaf is left on the ground and someone treads on it, the wearer may die. If the parents of a girl trod on the leaf or stepped over it, it would be a sin equivalent to incest. If a witch could get hold of the leaf, she could send a tiger to devour the wearer or a snake to bite her; she could make her barren or unclean. 'One day a sahib came from Cuttack and there was a dance in Pal Laharagarh. When some of the leaves fell to the ground, the people were afraid to pick them up. Two or three days later a girl was eaten by a tiger at Kantara. Since then we have always picked up the leaves very carefully.' And indeed it is an amusing sight to watch the group of old women with long sticks hovering round a Juang dance watching for any scrap of leaf that may fall down. Immediately there is a rush for it, it is picked up and carefully preserved and buried.

So simple and natural a practice could hardly be expected to continue without interference. Civilization, which in the course of a hundred years has done nothing whatever for the Juang, which has given them no hospitals or schools, which has taught them neither agriculture nor any industry, has paid its debt to the tribe by a forcible attempt to stop the leaf-attire. Here is a semi-official account of what was done, by L. S. S. O'Malley, who bases his facts on a passage in Hunter's *The Indian Empire*.² 'An attempt was made in 1871 to introduce the outward garb of civilization by getting the women to discard the girdle of leaves which was their only dress and wear cotton cloth in its stead. Those who came within

¹ Dalton, op. cit., p. 156.

² W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Empire* (London, 1893), p. 94.

the sphere of British influence, we are told, were clothed by order of the government, and their chief was persuaded to do the same good work for others. An English officer called a meeting of the tribe made a speech, and solemnly handed out pieces of cloth to the women, to the number of nearly 2,000, after which the leaves which had clad them were gathered in a heap and burnt.¹ The officer responsible for this act of vandalism, we are told by Risley, was Captain F. J. Johnstone, Superintendent of the Keonjhar State, 'who had acquired great influence with the people.'²

The futility of introducing the outward garb of civilization without doing anything to promulgate its spirit is seen in the effect which this action had upon the Juang. The tribe suffered a psychological and spiritual shock from which it has never recovered. The people look back to the day when the sacred leaves were burnt as a conquered nation recalls the day of its defeat. Since that time, Sat—the spirit of truth and religion, the power to live safely in a world of hostile magic—has left the tribe. Tigers attack the cattle and the offended earth gives but a scanty crop. I will give a few typical accounts.

In Gonasika the Juang Naiko said, 'In Godadaro-Raja's time a sahib came here and gave us cloth and made us burn our leaves. Since that day truth and religion has left us. Whatever we may sow we get poor crops. Every kind of wild animal attacks us. Before then Thakurani Mahapat (the earth mother) was pleased with us and whenever we spoke to her she answered. But those days are gone.'

In Phanasnasa, the Juang said, 'Jinkini Sahib came to Gonasika and called us to dance before him. He stood up and said, "You wear leaves. That is shameful. It is the order of Government that you should stop. I will give you cloth instead." Our Dihuri replied, "The leaves were given us by Dharam Deota. If we wear cloth we will die or tigers will eat us." The sahib gave two cows, two sheep and two goats to please the gods. Then he took away the leaves and gave cloth instead, and forced the Dihuri to burn the leaves with his own hands.'

And another account from Balipal: 'Jinkini Sahib brought many boxes of cloth to Gonasika. He called the Juang and said to them, "Do you know what is in these boxes?" They answered, "Kal (danger)." He laughed and opened the boxes and inside there was nothing but snakes. The sahib said, "But I filled these boxes with cloth. How are they full of snakes?" Our Dihuri said, "If you say it is cloth it will be"—and immediately everybody saw that it was cloth. The sahib began to distribute the cloth.

¹ L. S. S. O'Malley, *Modern India and the West* (London, 1941), p. 733.

² Risley, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 352, J. D. Beglar of the Archeological Survey visited Baitarni in 1874 and found that the leaf-clothing had been abandoned there. But he adds, 'It struck me as somewhat incongruous that the men were dressed much more decently than the women, and reason assigned was that women are so seldom out in places of public resort that they do not need it.' *Archeological Survey Reports*, Vol. XIII (Calcutta, 1882), pp. 77f.

An old woman went into the jungle to put it on and was at once eaten by a tiger. So we offered many sacrifices to stop the tigers, bears and snakes and then put on the cloth. The women wept loudly, for they hated the cloth and we too wept for we saw the ruin of our race. Since that time wild elephants have begun to destroy our fields and kill us.'

This is not a mere superstition. It is a major fact in Juang psychology, comparable to the Baiga belief that it is a sin to lacerate the breast of Mother Earth with the plough. When almost immediately afterwards there was an attempt by the administration to stop the people practicing axe-cultivation, they naturally felt that their worst suspicions had been justified. A song, known in all the three States, summarizes Juang sentiment.

Rusi and Rusain lived in Sat
 The world was in happiness
 The Pathar Saharoni wore leaves
 Great was truth in those days
 The Cuttack sahib came and camped in Gonasika
 He made the women wear cloth
 Since then the Pathar Saharoni's Sat has sunk down.
 In the days of Sat
 When they beat their drums
 The mountains and rocks broke open
 Wherever the leaves fell from the girdle
 There were springs of water
 But now the people's Sat is ruined.
 Who is mother, who is father, who is sister ?
 The son cares not for his father
 Brother and sister, father and daughter,
 There is no distinction
 Axe-cultivation is stopped
 And the children in the house die of hunger.

It is always the same ; the breaking of ancient custom means—in tribal opinion—the loss of forest rights, attacks from wild beasts and the growth of incest. The connection with incest is of particular interest.

Nothing reveals Juang feeling more clearly than the fact that the now vague and shadowy figure of 'Jinkini' has been partly identified with the abominable Pig King who, as he lay dying, anticipated 'Jinkini's' commands and threatened his subjects with death if they wore their leaves..

In Keonjhar and Dhenkanal the leaf-dress soon became a thing of the past. But it survived in Pal Lahara. N. K. Bose found women wearing leaves in 1928 and I did so also in 1942. And everywhere there are certain survivals. Many Juang women wear a few leaves under their cloth as a magical protection. At a wedding the bride is attired in her traditional leaf-dress. At dances the Juang put on their leaves with the utmost willingness and are

evidently delighted to have any excuse to do so. The belief in the power of the worn leaf is as strong as ever. When a witch goes out on her dark business, she puts on leaves. She kills her man, goes at night to a cross-road, dresses in leaves and worships.

In place of the clean and lovely leaves, that look so beautiful in their bright greenery against the golden brown of the skin, the Juang women now wear filthy little scraps of cloth that are less decent than the ample leaves, less artistic, and infinitely less hygienic.

III

JUANG FOOD

The Juang's food is not unlike that of other tribes, of which the fullest accounts have been recorded. The Juang's own tradition is that they are omnivorous.

One day Dharam Deota sent two sepoy to call Sadhan Burha. But Sadhan Burha made a tiger and it devoured them both. Then Dharam Deota sent four sepoy, and Sadhan Burha said, 'Let them die' and they died. Dharam Deota said to Sadhan Burha, 'I called you ; why didn't you come ?' Sadhan Burha said, 'I had fever ; how could I come ?' 'Where are my six sepoy ?' 'How should I know ?' 'Open your mouth and I will see.' Sadhan Burha opened his mouth and there was a hair growing from his tongue. Dharam Deota tried to remove the hair, but it would not come out. He gave Sadhan Burha frogs to eat, but the hair would not come out. He gave him fish, snakes, crabs, tigers, everything and anything in the world to eat, but the hair would not come out. Finally he gave a hairy caterpillar and out came the hair. Then said Dharam Deota, 'Since you have already eaten everything and anything, now you may always eat what you will.'

The basic food of the Juang is what is called elsewhere *pej* or *jāwa*, but by them apparently known as *bhāto*. Rice or millet is first boiled, then dried in the sun and husked. Water is put in a pot and brought to the boil. The grain is thrown in and when it is ready the water is strained out through a bamboo strainer. This water with the grain loosely floating in it, is called *pej* by the Juang.

Pulses are boiled. The Juang make water hot, throw in some salt and haldi, add the pulse and boil it.

Various kinds of bread are made. *Pita-roti* (in Juang, *chutu-pura*) is made of ground rice. They damp the rice with water and grind it with a rolling stone, not in a mill. When it is ready they spread the paste on a siari leaf, place another leaf above it and put it on the fire heaping some more fire above it. *Gutuli-pita* requires more elaborate preparation. The housewife puts water and some bamboo shavings in a pot. Over its mouth she places two bamboo sticks crosswise and above this a large *bauhinia vahlii* leaf with

some holes in it. She makes rice-flour into paste, rolls it into balls and places them on the leaf. She covers them with chaff or more bamboo shavings. She turns a second pot upside down and stands it above the first, and puts both on the fire. The bread is thus steamed. It can be kept for eight to ten days, and is heated up when required.

After rice and the small millets, roots are probably the most important item in the Juang's diet. There are a great many varieties, and they may be steamed, boiled or roasted. The *bainga* root is first cleaned in a stream. Then it is put in a pot, the mouth of which is closed with a leaf and it is baked over the fire. When the colour of the leaf changes, they know the root is dry. They take it out, let it cool, cut it up into little bits and eat it.

They cut the *pitāru* root up into little squares, place them in a bamboo basket and let it stand all night in a running stream. Next morning they wash the squares vigorously and boil them with a little water. They usually roast the *turkiāru* root.

The Juang are fond of fish and set traps and nets in the mountain streams. They usually boil their catch. They clean the fish rather roughly, bring a pot of water to the boil, put the fish into it with salt, chillies, haldi and if possible oil and pour in a little rice-water.

Fish is good, but not so good as meat. 'By the strength of your arms you get fish, but meat by the favour of the gods.'

The Juang have no conscience about eating beef, though there are certain rules about it. They must not eat carrion, though a fresh tiger kill is not taboo. But no one will eat an old cow or bullock that dies of disease or age. It is often said, too, that no one should kill a cow or bullock simply for food. If they do they are excommunicated, though the depth of the sin is not very great since a fine of four annas can restore their tribal privileges. Beef should be eaten after sacrifice. In Pharasdangi (Keonjhar) the Juang said that,

We used to offer black cows every five years in the clearings during the month of Bhadon. We would put the blood in a new pot and make *khir* with rice. In the place where the cow was killed we would put two aonra fruits in the ground for Basundri and Dharam Deota. We used to stay there all night drinking and feasting, and next day we called on Banorai. If the god answered us, we knew the crops would be good. The tree under which we had made the sacrifice would tremble of its own accord and the cow's head would open its mouth as the god passed by. We would throw a little of the *khir* into every clearing.

In Phanasnasa the Juang said that they ate beef every year at the New Rice Eating festival in honour of Boram Burha and Korenga Pat. In Korba, they said that 'since cattle graze in our boundary, we offer every year a buffalo for their protection.' Every second year they offered a black cow in the forest-clearing.

But in Chakarpur and Korguda, villages of Dhenkanal, they said that they only got beef about once in ten years.

Beef-eating is regulated by the supply of cattle, the strength of local Hindu influence (more powerful in Dhenkanal than elsewhere) and the instructions of the Rau-uria. If the gods demand beef through the lips of the Rau-uria, no amount of Hindu influence will stop them getting it.

Beef is usually boiled. The Juang woman puts a little water in a pot; throws the bits of meat (which will have been cut up at the time and place of sacrifice) into the water, add sarson, garlic, haldi, salt, chillies and some sour savouring, and boils it all up together. When meat is cut up for public distribution, as always after a sacrifice, flesh and bones are chopped up together into small squares. Bits of the skin are added and nothing is wasted.

Another method of preparing beef or mutton is to roast it first in an empty pot without either oil, ghee or water. When the 'juice' of the meat is dry, they may boil it in rice-water.

The Juang are rather exceptional in eating both tiger and monkey flesh. Tiger flesh is roasted. It is put in a dry pot with salt and haldi and roasted over the fire. Water must not be added or, it is believed, the flesh will stink.

In Biranmunda (Pal Lahara) I was given an account of the catching and cooking of a monkey.

We take dogs with us and beat the forest. When we put up a monkey, we drive it up a solitary tree and surround it. It does not dare come down for fear of the dogs, and so we can shoot it easily with an arrow. The man who shoots it must not pick it up; another man must do so. We take it to the nearest stream, make a fire and singe off the hair. We cut off the head and feet and offer them to the bow and arrow of the man who killed it, calling on Dhanusaro, Banorai and Banodurga. We cut up the liver, roast it and give it to the man who killed it. Then we cut up the rest of the flesh and roast it before the fire. We put it in a pot with salt and haldi, but no water, or even oil. All the men who went on the beat get a share; the man who killed it gets three shares. The head and the feet must be eaten on the spot by the men only; the rest of the meat may be taken home. But if a woman were to eat the head or feet, the bow and arrow would be defiled and next time it was aimed at anything it would miss. We specially like monkey flesh cooked with urid pulse.

Among special delicacies and savouries, may be mentioned mushrooms, which the Juang dry, pound up, mix with water and take with their usual gruel. The kernel of the mango is put in water, broken up, dried over a fire, put into a basket and cleaned by being placed in a basket set in a running stream.

Red ants are another popular delicacy. The Juang make a very large leaf-cup and put it at the bottom of a tree on which the nests have been observed. One of the men climbs up and

breaks the nest, drooping it directly into the leaf-cup. They put salt and haldi into the cup with the ants and stitch it up. They put it into the fire, cover it with hot coals and let the ants roast. Some-time however, they boil the ants in water.

Flying ants are also eaten. The Juang find a swarm, take a pot of water, catch them one by one and drop them, wings and all, into the water. Then they throw away the water and roast them in a dry pot. The wings are scorched off and the bodies remain as tasty morsels to be eaten. Another method of catching the ants is to place a great many thorns upright on the ground. These pierce the bodies of the ants when they settle on them.

When a meal is ready, the woman who has cooked it places a little on a leaf in the name of the Ancestors and puts it behind the hearth. Then she divides the food equally in leaf-cups for members of the family, and gives them to eat. She herself must eat last. Husband and wife do not usually eat together. They can eat at the same time if necessary, but at a little distance from each other, and not out of the same dish. A wife can eat her husband's leavings but he cannot take her's. A daughter-in-law must not eat in front of her father-in-law or her husband's elder brother. A man must not eat with his son-in-law or his sister's husband. He may eat his mother's leavings, but no others.

Like all aborigines the Juangs are fond of honey. They distinguish five different kinds of bees—the *nakuri*, a very small bee which lives in a hollow tree and whose honey is taken in Jeth just before the rains; the *chikinda*, also small but very good, discovered when someone hears their buzzing *gud-gud-gud-gud*, whose honey is available all the year round; the *sat paniya*, who live in seven houses in a tree and make a noise like *ghum-ghum-ghum-ghum*; the *bichuna*, a small bee which hives on a branch and gives honey during the rains; and the *baghmohu*, which are dangerous.

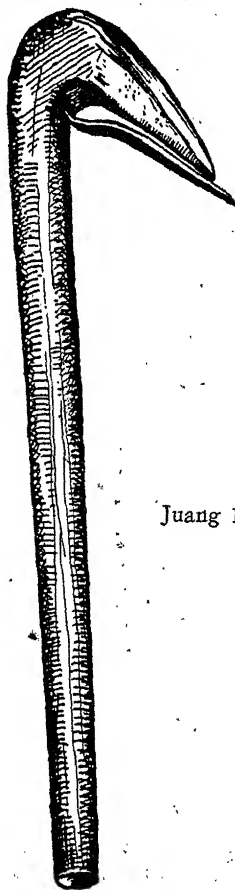
The man who goes for honey, especially if he wishes to rob a *baghmohu*'s hive in Jeth, must use appropriate charms. For two days beforehand he must not eat fish, meat or curds and he must observe a rule of celibacy. On the day he goes he must be careful not to see a menstruating woman, or he must turn back.

IV

CULTIVATION

The characteristic agricultural implement of the Juang is the *goronda* hoe; this is of two types, one having the blade thrust into the wood of the stock, the other and more modern type having an ordinary socketed blade into which the stock fits. With this hoe and a digging-stick of the Baiga type with an iron point fitting into one end of the stick and projecting straight downwards, the Juang raises the scanty crops which are all his family requires from life. A few now have ploughs and cattle, but they use these more as if they were very large hoes than in the ordinary way. The plough is in fact taken across the forest-clearing almost as if it was a hoe.

The Juang method of axe-cultivation resembles that of the Bhuiya and is very harmful to the jungle. Clearings are made, the trees are felled and fired, and then the ground is dug up either with the hoe or with the plough. This represents a much more serious attempt at cultivation than that practised by the Baiga, for example, or by the Maria of the Abujhmar Hills who simply sow the seed in the ashes or at the most dibble a little for their pulses. The introduction of the plough onto the slopes of hills greatly increases



Juang hoe of old type

the danger of erosion, delays recovery and is the real cause of the prodigious devastation of the Bhuiya Pirh of Keonjhar, where the people have begun to keep plough-cattle on a large scale. The danger is less among the Juang, for comparatively few have ploughs, but in the neighbourhood of a large and prosperous village like Bali-pal great damage has been done. Both Juang and Bhuiya have the custom, unknown to Bondo, Maria or Baiga, of leaving large numbers of trees standing which they deliberately kill by heaping com-

bustible matter around them. They then use them as supports for bean-stalks and later sell them for firewood or building to the Chasa.

Juang and Bhuiya have three words for axe-cultivation ; they do not use them quite consistently, but in the main they use—

Bringa for the first year's cultivation, when they sow pulses and oil-seeds,

And *Koman* or *Toila* for the second year's cultivation, when they sow rice, juar and the small millets.

The Juang usually cultivate for two years only and observe a rotation of about ten years. The rule is that so long as the grass below the regrowth comes up as high as the knee, it is not fit for felling. 'The new trees should be as thick as pillars in the Darbar ; then they are ready for cutting.'

The Juang have no taboo on the use of the plough, nor do they share the Baiga belief that if they tear the breast of the earth they will be eaten by tigers. But they certainly regard axe-cultivation as having divine authority and as established from the foundation of the world.

We were born of earth—that is why we never sleep on beds. We fell from the womb to the earth, and our life is in our *koman* clearing. When we wore leaves we used to sleep in the clearings. We made our beds of ashes and ashes were our blankets. We cut the trees and burnt them as Dharam Deota showed us and instructed us.

From Dhenkanal comes an elaborate account.

Rusi and Rusain, children of Mahaprabhu, were sent by him into the world, the boy to the east and the girl to the west. Both moved to the centre, they met at Gonasika, and were married. Before their marriage they never ate, but afterwards they felt hungry and cried, 'O Mahaprabhu, what can we eat ?' They could not walk for hunger, they sat down and wept. Mahaprabhu thought, 'These two children are dying of hunger ; this is a sin for me. If they die how am I to people the world ?' He brought them grain to eat. But Rusi said, 'When this is finished, what shall we do ?' Mahaprabhu told him to go and make a hoe. Rusi went to the jungle and began to make his hoe. Mahaprabhu surrounded him with *pitāru* roots ; Rusi used to gather them, roast and eat them. When he went home he would refuse to eat anything.

So many days passed. One day Rusain went with Rusi and sat by him as he worked at his hoe. At the usual time Rusi went for his roots, roasted and ate them. Rusain thought, 'So that's why he won't eat with me.' She picked up a root. 'What a nasty thing,' she said, and spat on it and threw it away. Since that day all roots have been bitter.

Then Rusi could no longer eat his roots and he was so hungry he could not make the hoe. When he went home Rusain refused to give him food. 'Go and eat roots in the jungle,' she said.

Mahaprabhu came and said, 'If you can't eat the roots, sow grain in the forest'. Rusi and Rusain wandered through the forest seeking a place to sow their seed, but there was nothing but rocks and trees. When Mahaprabhu saw this he took the form of an old man and came to a mountain side. There he cut down the trees and set fire to them. When the ash was cool he sowed every kind of seed in it. When the harvest was ready he climbed into a tree to guard it. Rusi and Rusain came by. The old man shouted, 'Beware. Do not steal from my field.' Rusi and Rusain could hardly walk for hunger; they crawled on hands and knees. They came to him and said, 'Look we are dying of hunger'. The old man answered, 'See what I—an old man—have done. You do the same. And since you are hungry, you may stay here and eat all you can.' So saying Mahaprabhu went away.

Rusi and Rusain ate all they could and stored the rest. Now Mahaprabhu had left his own hoe behind. It was made of gold. Rusi used it in his *koman* clearing and soon they had much food and many children.

A similar tale comes from Pal Lahara.

Rusi and Rusain had many children. They wondered how they were to feed them. Mahaprabhu sent Rawansar to them; he came and stood before them and said, 'Why are you anxious? See what I have brought you.' He gave them a hoe and a digging-stick, 'What are these for?' asked Rusi. Rawansar said, 'Dig the earth with the hoe and get out roots with the digging-stick. Cut down the forest and make fields.' Rusi said, 'We have never done such things. How can we begin now?'

So Rawansar cut down the trees with his own hands and made a clearing and went himself to dig for roots. Rusain said, 'To dig for roots we can understand, but what is the use of digging up the soil?' Rawansar said, 'Go to the four quarters of the world and search for seed.' So saying he went away. Rusi and Rusain went everywhere for seed, but they found none.

One day Rusain went out of the house to piss. She saw a *kotya-nari* tree. Here grain had been born. In it was every kind of seed, *jali*, *mandia*, *gangai*, *kangu*, *duko*, *rausa*, *dhano*, *birhi*, *sutro*, *kutro* and many others. She called to Rusi, 'Grain has been born'. From that day they made their *koman*-clearings and sowed in them every kind of grain. And gradually good rice sprung up, but this was always stolen by the Chasa.

Traditionally the Juang do not have private property in land. The area available round a village belongs to the community and is divided up by mutual consent in the village club 'so that Dharam Deota can overhear all we do.' If in one year a man gets a poor site, he is given a better one next time. If one year his crop fails or is damaged by wild elephants, he is given the best place the following year. Sites for the clearings are distributed by fami-

lies ; if there is a small family, it is given a place in the middle where it will be better protected ; if there are several men and boys available for guarding the crop they take a more exposed position. Each takes as much as he can manage and no more. Property depends on labour ; the only capital is the strength of a man's hands.

The business of axe-cultivation is closely connected with the village Darbar (dormitory). The Padhan's axe, with which the first tree is felled, is kept there and no one may touch it but the Dihuri and its owner. At Pus Puni, grain is collected for seed from every household. Part of this is stored in the Darbar, and part is made into parched rice and is sold. With the proceeds a goat is bought. The Bhuitar cooks *khir* in a new pot ; he first eats and then distributes it. The dormitory-boys dress up as girls and dance.

At Magh Puni comes the distribution of plots and the first fellings. Before they go out into the forest, the Dihuri makes offerings to Gram Siri, Mahapat, Tanpati and Banorai for the protection of the village in their absence. 'From today we will be going out into the jungle ; look after the village for us.' He also offers a chick for his own protection.

Let no thorns or stumps injure our feet. Let no tree fall on us. Drive far away tiger and bear. Let the axe be sharp to cut the trees, but let it not slip and injure us.

The Dihuri and Padhan then lead the villagers out into the forest, into the area where that year's clearing are to be made. The Padhan and Dihuri are given their clearings first, and then other clearings are distributed to the rest. The first tree to be cut should be a *terminalia tomentosa*. If this falls to the east, the people expect a good fire. Sometimes the Bhuitar takes a hen to the jungle and two bits of *shorea robusta* wood. The other men make a circle round him. He takes a pot of water in his hand, goes round the circle seven times, puts down the water in the middle and all cry 'Haribol' very loudly once and then keep silence. If there is any echo they cut the first tree in that direction. They sacrifice the hen and the Bhuitar picks up the two bits of *shorea robusta* wood. The men form a line holding hands. The Bhuitar cries, 'O gods, all are agreed. Will there be a good harvest or no ?' And he throws the wood into the air. If they fall, one face up and one face down, they expect a good harvest. The Dihuri cuts a tree in the direction of the echo ; they eat and drink in that very place and then go home. After this every family cuts its own clearing.

The clearings are fired in Baisakh. The village elders first assemble in the Darbar and fix the date. The next day the Dihuri bathes and takes fire from the fire always kept burning in the Darbar. A leaf-pipe is lit, some scraps are placed in the bowl, and the Dihuri prepares to leave the village. He prays to Karikar (the god of fire),

Eat everything today. Let the wind blow well. You are greatest of all.

The Dihuri goes to the clearings and first fires his own, saying,
O gods, we set fire to our clearings. Let the trees and

shrubs burn well. May there be no rain, but a good breeze.

Then the others take fire from the first clearing and each deals with his own. Two days later, the people assemble in the Darbar and decide to go and see if there is anything left to burn. They go to the clearings, and gather anything left unburnt and see that it is consumed. The ashes are raked, but not very carefully, over the clearings to get some sort of even distribution.

When the ground has cooled, it is dug over with the hoe or sometimes with a plough. Seed is sown after the rains begin. In Jeth they go to the clearings and offer a chick under a bamboo tree in the name of Mahapat, the Seven Kaniya, and Rusi and Rusain. They cut the top of the bamboo and go home. The next day they go and see if the earth below the bamboo is damp or not. If it is they expect the rains to come early and prepare themselves accordingly.

When they are sowing in a first year clearing, they use pulses and oil seeds. They sow the pulse *phaseolus radiatus* first of all. The Dihuri sprinkles blood from a sacrificed chick on the seed and gives a handful to each, just as Mahaprabhu distributed the seed at the beginning of the world. In some places they take a little of the seed from each house to the shrine of Gram Siri and offer it there saying,

Look on us ; we give you this seed. Let no rat, pig, deer or elephant destroy the crop. - Let there be a good harvest ; keep sickness far away. Help us, and next year we will marry our sons and daughters in your honour.

A goat is sacrificed, some of the blood is sprinkled on the seed and each householder takes this to his own clearing and sows it. Sometimes the Dihuri goes from clearing to clearing, offering a chick in each.

In the second year, when rice is to be sown, the Dihuri removes the seed that has been stored in the Darbar and distributes a handful to every householder. Each makes a small plot and sows this blest seed there in the name of Banorai, Rusi, Rusain and Mahapat saying, 'Look, this is your garden.' Then they sow generally in their clearings. When the rice has come up, they sometimes offer a black cow in Asadh (June-July) to the gods for the protection of the crop.

At the time of harvest, they choose a lucky day and reap. But they first offer gum-incense to the original gardens and sprinkle water mixed with molasses upon them. They do not cut these gardens, but keep them for the gods. But after the rest of the grain has been stored, they cut the gardens, prepare *arwa*-rice¹ from the crop, make special bread of it, and offer it to the gods. This bread is distributed but must not be given to visitors, to pregnant or menstruating women or to the youths of the Darbar.

The Juang do not sow all their seeds mixed up together in Baiga.

1. Rice which is boiled before being pusked is called *usua*; rice which is only sun-dried before husking is called *arwa*. The latter is usually preferred, as being more tasty and strength-giving.

fashion; but the clearings are often laid out in squares—pulses grow inside and the yellow oil-seed is sown round the borders; from a distance the hill-sides look like gigantic chess-boards. Rice is often sown in long strips down the slopes and juar or other crops are put along the edges.

Mango, ebony, *bassia latifolia*, *schleichera trijuga*, and jack-fruit trees are spared. The other taller trees are not felled but are killed by having combustible matter heaped round them, after which they serve as supports for the bean-stalks; beans are usually planted in the second year. No fences are made but sometimes barriers are erected against wild elephants. Field-huts are made, high up in trees overlooking the clearings. In these huts whole families spend most of their time all through the period of the growing and ripening grain, thus recapturing something of the primitive tree-life of ancient times.

V

HUNTING

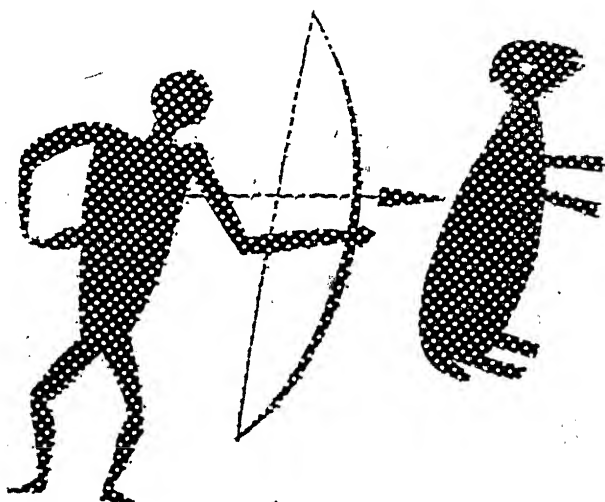
The remoter forests of Keonjhar and Pal Lahara are still rich with game and there has not been too much interference with the right of the Juang to chase it. The Juang usually go on the first big hunt of the year, which has a definitely ceremonial character, after the First Eating of the New Mangoes.

The night before the day fixed for the hunt, the Dihuri collects the bows and arrows from the whole village and puts them in the Mandagarh. Each villager contributes a chick for the sacrifice. That night the hunters are allowed to sleep in their homes and there does not seem to be any rule of abstinence for them, but the Dihuri must sleep alone in the dormitory; he must lie on one side, it may be either the left or the right, but he must not change or turn from side to side. The following day he leads the party of hunters out into the forest. Before they set out he tells all women to stay indoors for fear the shadow of a menstruating woman may fall upon them. No man whose wife is in her period may go with the party, and he must be careful not to give this as the reason for his not going—or the man who listens to him will also have to stop at home. If one of the party even happens to catch sight of a woman in her period he must go home. 'He should not be asked about it; people should understand that he must have some good reason.'

Arrived out in the forest the Dihuri coddles a small patch of ground, makes patterns of turmeric across it and over it ties two large poles of ebony wood. The bows and arrows are piled up as a sort of rough altar. He places two pieces of saleh wood on the coddled patch. He sacrifices the chicks contributed by the villagers in the names of Bethiakar, Baorai and Banodurga, and sprinkles the bows and arrows with blood from his own arm and leg. He throws the bits of saleh wood into the air. If they fall disparately—one face up and one face down, it is considered

a hopeful sign. The Dihuri hands the bows and arrows back to their owners. Each receives his property on the open palm of his hand, and they then go one by one underneath the crossed ebony poles. Should the leader stumble, they declare that he is a sambhar, and the man behind him catches him by the ear and twists it crying, 'True or false?' The leader answers, 'True; you're going to get something.' The Dihuri should be able to tell the party at what time of day they will catch something and in which direction they should go.

When they kill an animal they call the successful hunter Raja. They garland him, tie a turban round his head and carry the body of the animal either to his own house or to a neighbouring stream. Before moving the body the man who has killed it offers some of



Carving of hunter from Balipal

the animal's blood on an aonra leaf in the name of his ancestors. They cut the body up and proceed to the complicated business of dividing the meat. This has to be done with scrupulous care so that everybody gets exactly the same amount. Only the man who fired the lucky shot receives a larger portion. He is given the breast, if the animal is female, the testes if it is male, one of the hind legs, half the ribs of the back, the head, a bit of the liver and the four feet. He also gets his ordinary share. He is given his portion first and then the Dihuri gets his share. After the meat has been distributed to all the hunters—but to no others—each of them offers a scrap to his own bow and arrow. The man who killed the animal cooks the head and the feet with rice and offers some of it to his bow and arrow and some of it to his ancestors. The Dihuri offers part of the liver to the gods who have helped them and to the ancestors of the village.

The following day the Dihuri ceremonially offers the rest of the liver with the ears and tail with a fowl to the village gods and ancestors, and all the hunters eat the offering. The man who killed the animal has to share with his *mamu* (maternal uncle, father-in-law); he must go to him with even bits of meat and either the breast or testes. If he has no *mamu* then he must visit a relative in a similar position. The *mamu* and his family wash the hero's feet and give him a special arrow in the name of Mahaprabhu. Next time the hunter goes with that very arrow and expects a further success.

'We do not always hunt,' say the Juang. 'For in the jungle there are many stones and trees and in the cold weather we cannot see a lurking tiger. But when the leaves fall we can see better and then we go to hunt.'

Some curious texts throw light on Juang mentality about hunting. The first is a story from Korba in Keonjhar State.

There was a very fat old Juang. His name was Ladhe Burha. He used to go hunting every day. He had no other pleasure. He was not an ordinary hunter, he was a great hunter. Every day he would bring home two or three sambhar; he used to tie them to his bow and sling them over his shoulder. One day Ladhe Burha met a tiger. That tiger said, 'I am going to eat you.' But Ladhe Burha said, 'No, you aren't; I am going to eat you.' They quarrelled and in the end Ladhe Burha copulated with the tiger *per anum*, thrust his arrow afterwards into the place and went home. But the tiger remained in love with Ladhe Burha. One day Ladhe Burha killed a sambhar; he was tired; he put down the sambhar and his weapons and slept beneath a tree. The tiger came searching for Ladhe Burha and wanted to approach him again. But the bow and arrows were there; they kept awake when their master was asleep and they protected the old man. The tiger folded its hands and begged them, 'I am not going to eat him; I only want to love him.' Then the bow and arrows let the tiger approach. The tiger licked Ladhe Burha all over and as it licked him all Ladhe Burha's strength passed into the tiger. When the old Juang woke, he could not stand properly and he could not lift up the sambhar he had killed. He went staggering home. From that day the strength of man has been in the tiger.

This extraordinary tale, which in my experience is unique in the records of Indian ethnography, does however reflect some ideas current among the Baiga. Rawan, a celebrated hunter of the Bilaspur District described, how he once met a tiger. 'We began to play with each other. It kissed my privates, I kissed his. We were enjoying ourselves very much, but it scratched me with its paw, so I gave it a smack and it ran away.'¹

From Khajuria village comes a song used during the Mrago Pario or Deer Dance. The hero is a Savara, but the song is sung by Juang

¹ Verrier Elwin, *The Baiga* (London, 1939), p. 146.

and describes one of the methods of their hunting. As in many songs about fish, it is interesting to note that the singer looks on the situation from the animal's point of view.

Ishwaro Parvati—daily to their place

Taravati the deer wanders to graze.

By strength of Mahadeo the deer is not afraid.

Taravati the deer is pregnant

There's a child in her womb, with her are little deer.

Daibo's work who can describe ?

What he has written on man's forehead

According to his work his fate will be ;

According to his fate the life comes and goes ;

Good or bad the life comes and goes.

One day the deer went to graze in the forest

Birupakhyo Savara found her there

He saw her and the little ones with her.

He called on Vidata and struck his forehead with his hand

'For three days I have been hungry and now I have found
meat

I will shoot and I will fill my belly today.

For my brothers and relatives I will keep some of the meat

I will fill my belly. I will keep some for my grandson.'

As he said this the Savara's mind was pleased.

Remembering Vidata he spread his net around

He lit a fire behind and sat by the place of escape.

Le le le he sent his dog to chase the deer

The deer was anxious, it was eating nothing.

When it heard the noise it began to think,

'If I go to the front I will be hit by an arrow,

If I go to the side I will be caught in the net,

If I go behind I will be burnt in the fire.'

Re re the noise came loudly to her ears.

'If I go to the forest I'll be shot with the arrow.'

Le le the dog comes running.

'Beat her, strike her, hold her.'

Le le the dog comes running.

Looking around the deer feels terrified.

It falls senseless to the ground, and thinks.

'How shall I escape from here ?

If I go to the front I will be hit by an arrow,

If I go to the side I will be caught in the net,

If I go behind I will be burnt in the fire.

If I stay where I am, the dog will catch me and drag me
away.

I will die and my little ones with me,

And the child in my belly will die.

Great sorrow has befallen me ;

Prabhu Bhagavan, save me.'

This is the end of the song, but the singers say that when the deer took the name of Prabhu Bhagavan the Savara's bow string snapped and she was able to escape.

Birds are caught rather than shot, though boys acquire some mastery of the pellet-bow. A curious song about birds describes at the same time a quarrel between a man and his wife.

Listen all of you and keep it in your mind
 I will tell you the whole condition of the birds
 The heart of the bird-catcher is in the sky
 For his home he has bought and kept a lover
 Yet away he goes to set lime for the birds.
 For the *biloro*, the *khunti*, the *kaunchi* birds I go with my
 net
 I will catch them and bring them home
 Give me four annas for them and my heart will be pleased
 The *bogo* bird, the *gendariya*, the *churwa-dodosa*, the *nakuwa*
 I'll bring the *kuwa* too. Come with me or send your wife
 to help
 Give me twelve annas and you can take them all away.

His wife speaks :

My bird, what am I to cook for supper
 There is no food in the house
 Shall I cook the ashes from the hearth ?

The implication being that he is selling the birds he has caught for liquor, her bird (husband) grows very angry and tries to 'pull out her feathers.' The wife speaks again :

When you next go *chadu chadu* to catch your birds
 May something fall on your head
 I can live without a bird.
 If something strikes this bird's head
 I will marry a young chick.
Chadu chadu he goes for his birds
 He shoots his arrow, it falls in a well
 Getting his arrow on a Saturday he dies, officially,
 On Sunday his wife becomes a widow (by breaking her
 bangles).

Now he is dead and his bird is weeping.

Aho, lord of my life, why have you left me in my youth ?
 Love of my life, in my youth I am left without a lord
 You are the image of god and my breast is pierced
 At night who will save me, bird ?
 What shall I do ? Where shall I go ?
 I do not know the path of wisdom.

Her neighbours say :

Why are you weeping, daughter ?
 You said, When my bird is dead
 I will marry a young chick
 So what need is there to weep ?

The woman speaks :

What friends, do you think I'm crying ?
Is blood flowing from my eyes ?
I just put spittle in my eyes.
To pretend that it was tears.

It was not very easy to discover songs about the Juang's daily life, but in Khajhuria a song of grain and another about the mahua tree were recorded.

O grain tree, rice and millet have come
How beautiful the grain tree looks
You are our main source of wealth
There is silver and gold
There are pearls and diamonds
But you are lovelier than them all.

This song gives an accurate picture of Juang, and indeed of Indian aboriginal, mentality. Money does not mean very much to the Juang. What he desires is some steady and regular source of food. Give him a small patch of forest which he can clear and earn a regular sack or two of grain and he will prefer it to any gift of money.

The next song deals with the *bassia latifolia* (*mahua*) tree, which provides the Juang with oil, food and liquor.

In Magh appear the shoots of *mahua*
In Phagun comes the flower.
In Chait the tree is full of flowers
Bring the small and large baskets
Look friends look at the beauty of the *mahua*
In the heat of the day the old woman
Is making a mat with many plaits
Put the basket of *mahua*
As if it were full of millet on your head
It flows like oil over your head
Its juice runs down and water comes from your eyes
Look friends look at the beauty of the *mahua*
Two sisters have gone and are struggling to gather the flowers
They have broken their baskets in the quarrel
Look friends look at the beauty of the *mahua*.

VI

THE JUANG AND CIVILIZATION

The attitude of the Juang to the outer world is one of ignorance and, in Keonjhar at least, of suspicion. 'We are *ban-mānus* (it was their own word)—jungle men,' they said at Bali. 'We roam in the forest like monkeys ; all we ask is to be left alone,' was their request at Korba. Very few have seen the outer world. In Keonjhar most of the people do not even visit the local bazaars. The headmen sometimes go on business to the capital, but not the others. In the wilder hills, though some of the people

remembered Macmillan (a popular, and now almost legendary, figure, who married a Bhuiya girl), others had never seen a white face before and believing me to be an evil spirit, fled into the jungle at my approach with shrill cries of horror and amazement. At Korba the people had never seen a watch and did not know what it was. In almost every village the gramophone was a thing of wonder and magic, and the old men used to prance round it peering inside to see where the musician was.

A few of the Pal Lahara Juang had been about a little. Sukho Naiko called a railway engine Karikar Deota, the God of Fire, and described its puffing as *Jake paibi take paibi*, or 'Whoever I catch I'll eat.' 'Hearing this,' he said, 'I fell ill for fear. But I went to the Deogarh Hospital for medicine and promised a goat to Karikar Deota when I returned to the village and so recovered.' Joyya, the Padhan of Madhomunda (Dhenkanal) went to Cuttack and worked there for a time as Sardar for a Mussalman contractor on Rs. 15 a month. He recalled the great rice-husking and flour-preparing machines. He saw motor cars and sat in a boat. 'It was great fun,' he said. He too considered that engines and ships went by the power of Karikar Deota and Andhari Deota. Mangla was impressed to take the baggage of the Raja of Pal Lahara to Cuttack, but he did not enjoy the experience. 'I saw trains and ships and cars. I thought they might sacrifice me to make the trains go, and I wanted to escape back to the jungle.'

Many of the Juang have seen aeroplanes. The idea in Pal Lahara was that there are very thin wires across the sky and that the aeroplanes run on these. Some Juang thought that I had gone to Pal Lahara to arrange air-raids by fixing up these wires over their villages. At Korba they did not know whether there were men in the planes or whether they went by themselves. At Tambur they thought that men flew in the planes, but they were a special type of man who never ate, but lived only on air.

Of the political disturbances in India and of the war the Juang had the vaguest knowledge. When I went through Keonjhar popular rumour had it that I was seeking a place of refuge in the event of a Japanese invasion, though they did not call it that but only 'if the war came to Keonjhar.' In Dhenkanal the following Sahibo Pari song was recorded.

The sahib says that there is war in Keonjhar ;

The sahib has placed soldiers in three places ;

He is going to put the folk in a train and carry them away.

An Amin came and wrote the numbers of our houses,

Cows and bulls, goats and she-goats,

The sahib will put them in a train and carry them away,

Brother's daughter, father's daughter, they all ran to the jungle,

O in Keonjhar the war has begun !

In Keonjhar some of the Juang said that 'Gandhi is equal to a hundred Bhagavans, but the English are only equal to two Bhaga-

vans. The English are partly Deota and partly Dano. Gandhi has started a war against the English. If he wins, all will be happy, for he will give us the freedom of the jungle.' In Pal Lahara, however, they had a lower opinion of the Mahatma. 'Gandhi lives beyond the ocean; the English are near us on this side. Gandhi is so far away that he does not know what is going on. Wherever he goes there is murder and loot'—sentences that sound like rather successful propaganda by a Forest Guard. In Pal Lahara the Juang had a great reverence for a 'Pavitra Baba' of Talcher, 'who loves the poor and wants to understand their joys and sorrows. When the Raja of Talcher tried to kill him, he turned into a girl and went to Angul.'

The reasons why the Juang should be timid of strangers and even hostile to them is not difficult to understand. For generations they were subjected to the most oppressive forms of forced labour and the requisitioning of supplies; 'officials fed their ponies on buckets of ghee,' and though things have improved a little, the aborigines here—as everywhere in India—regard the outside visitor as a source of economic loss and a general nuisance. Again in Keonjhar the Juang are very happy in their main settlement arrangements and the freedom they at present enjoy. They have seen their brethren in Pal Lahara and Dhenkanal deprived of that freedom and sinking down into economic and social decay. They fear that any stranger may be planning changes—and more than anything the Juang hates and dreads change.

As for the general public, their Chasa or Tosa neighbours, the Juang have little reason to love them. Every contact they have with them is a contact where they are ridiculed, despised and cheated. The outside world never gives them anything; it only approaches them, with a version and scorn, to take things away from them. The Juang express this feeling in a tale recorded in Dhenkanal.

Rusi and Rusain had the golden digging-stick of Mahaprabhu and because of this stick they got plenty to eat and lived happily. In the early days they never ate coarse or bitter roots; that was the food of Tosa. But one day a Tosa made friends with Rusi's son. The Tosa took his digging-stick and went to dig roots; Rusi's son with the gold stick in his hand went along with him to watch. The Tosa got a great load of roots and Rusi's son said, 'Let me help you to carry them.' He took the load himself and gave the Tosa the golden stick to hold. But while he was carrying the load of roots, the Tosa ran away with the golden stick. Since that day we ourselves have eaten the roots and all the gold has gone to the Tosa.

PART THREE

I

BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD

JUANG ideas about the mechanism of conception are elementary and vague. Semen, according to some, is stored in a bag inside the stomach; according to others it is in the head, whence it runs down to the penis by a tube. Inside a woman's body a flower blossoms every month at the end of the menstrual period.

At the end of each period, when she has washed her head, a new flower blossoms in her body and at that time she is ready to receive the seed. There is no sowing of the seed during the rest of the month. A woman's face is fair and yellow on the day her flower blossoms and she is very gay and happy all day.

Sometimes a woman-conceives quickly, 'because when her flower blossoms the day after her monthly bath, and the seed falls on it, the petals close above it.' She must lie still for a long time and thus the seed remains. When a woman has only boys or only girls they say she has two flowers: one male and one female. When the seed falls, if the female flower is in front a girl will be born. If a woman bears only girls it means that the male flower 'never comes out to receive the seed.' For this they give medicine to burn up the girl-flower and thus allow the boy-flower to be fertilized.

The Juang are rather unusual in my experience of aborigines in believing that restraint is a means of promoting fertility. 'If a man goes daily to his wife, his body turns black and his strength leaves him. He should go once in eight, fifteen or thirty days; then his wife will quickly be pregnant. The man who goes daily never makes his wife pregnant.' The same idea is seen in the notion that if a man copulates frequently his hair turns white quickly. 'But the pubic hairs do not turn white, because they are covered and there is strength in them.' And a Juang of Korba said, 'If one was truly celibate, one would never die.'

The right moment for conception is the day after the woman bathes at the end of her period. This bath appears to be usually taken by the Juang on the eighth day, which is much later than usual. On this day, not only is the flower blossoming, but the man's discharge is white and the woman's is red as blood. When the white and red mix conception follows.

Barrenness exists 'when a woman's flower at the end of her period is black or white and not red.' On the other hand, the husband's 'seed may be bad.' When a man's seed is 'thin as toddy juice' it is no good hoping for a child. A witch may have brought about either condition.

To cure barrenness, the husband should go to the forest and find a *sujna* tree on the very day his wife has her monthly bath. He must worship the tree and bring a handful of its flowers. He grinds them to a paste and gives it to his wife to eat. Some give *sujna* seeds; one seed will bring a boy, half a seed a girl. Another

cure is to get the Rau-uria to make seven knots in a sevenfold thread of cotton. He ties this round the woman's neck with a charm. But he must be careful to remove the thread before delivery, or the knot in it will make things very difficult. To eat the virile organ of some animal is a counsel of despair. Most women will never eat the penis or testes, for fear of being impregnated. And furthermore 'those organs are just like those with which men give us pleasure, so how could we eat them?'

Contraception is not a matter of much interest to the married Juang whose greatest ambition is for a large family. But boys in the Darbar say that 'if you go to an unmarried girl and then get up and walk over her body from feet to head, she will not conceive. But when she is married to someone else and you now can go to her without fear, walk down her body from her head to the feet, have intercourse with her and she will have a child.' If however a man goes naked to the forest and finds a parasite growing on a withered tree, it may form the basis of a contraceptive medicine.

I heard a curiously 'modern' idea in Pal Lahara that if at the time of intercourse when a child is conceived, the mother is angry with her husband and refuses to talk to him, the child will be born dumb.

A barren woman was a man in her previous birth. And she will be reborn in her next birth as a man. Then he will go to his wife 'like a bird, often and with vigour,' but he too will have no child.

The Juang appear to be fairly fertile as a tribe. I prepared a questionnaire dealing with a number of points regarding marriage and the family, and submitted this to 100 men in Keonjhar and Pal Lahara. I found that the 100 families examined had produced 404 children, of whom 251 survived. The majority of families had 3 to 5 children.

TABLE ONE

No. of children to a family in 100 cases

No. of children	No. of cases of children born	No. of cases of children surviving
None	3	8
1	9	20
2	13	28
3	15	23
4	23	9
5	14	4
6	10	6
7	8	2
8	3	—
10	1	—
12	1	—

The time of the first child's birth was examined in the case of 100 first wives : there was a definite 'sterility interval' observable.

TABLE TWO

No. of years after the menarche that the first child was born in 100 cases

Years after menarche	No. of cases
1	—
2	1
3	14
4	23
5	30
6	11
7	11
8 and over	7
In 3 cases the woman was barren.	

TABLE THREE

No. of years after effective marriage that the first child was born in 100 cases

Years after marriage	No of cases
1	8
2	31
3	34
4	12
5	4
6	4
7	1
8 and over	3
In 3 cases the woman was barren.	

During her pregnancy the Juang woman is treated with great consideration. She is not pressed to work too hard, and indeed the many taboos by which she is surrounded are an important factor in lightening her burden. The rules that she must observe are of the usual kind. Since she is spiritually delicate she must be careful to avoid any place or object that is charged with unseen power. Since she herself is in a more or less magical condition, she must be careful not to do harm or damage. And she must be very careful not to do anything that would, by the ordinary principles of sympathetic magic, either bring on a miscarriage or make delivery impossible when the time comes.

Thus the pregnant woman must not go to the Devasthan, or there will be an immediate reaction 'and the angry gods will bring out the child'. She must not eat any meat offered in sacrifice 'or the gods will go deaf.' She must not go to the Darbar 'or the gods

there will run away.' If she has to cross a river she should carry a stone with her, exclaiming, 'I am crossing this river : let no harm come to me.' When she gets across she should put it down on the bank and she should take it back with her on the return journey.

There is some danger that she may injure grain. She must not undo any grain tied up in a bundle—partly because it is always dangerous for a pregnant woman to undo anything (for she may undo her womb) and partly because she may make the grain sterile. She must not touch the threshing-post, or the work of threshing will be ruined at the next harvest. She must not let the end of her cloth touch either man or woman ; the woman might herself become pregnant and the man's touch might affect the unborn child.

She must be very careful to do nothing that will affect the foetus. She must not step across the tethering-rope of a cow—or the child might be born with a line over its face ; she must not step on a mat—probably for the same reason ; she must not—in many villages, but not in all—put oil on her body, look in a mirror or do her hair with a comb. She must never climb a tree, eat sambhar flesh or pork, or drink milk and curds. She must not try to bring down beans or fruit with a hooked bambóo pole, for should it get stuck in the tree this would make her delivery difficult. As the time draws near she must be careful not to tie up anything or weave a mat or plaster mud on the house or grain-bin.

The pregnant woman is troubled by witches ('but once a child is born, the witches can do nothing'), by the ghost of a foetus that has not been properly disposed and by her own carelessness. A witch causes miscarriage. The ghost of a foetus can be employed by a witch to give a woman bad dreams and to make her do foolish things. A woman may herself be careless. If she always sleeps on her back she will see other pregnant women in dreams and these will cause her to abort. If she does not get her cravings satisfied, she may have a miscarriage especially after the fourth or fifth month.

When a miscarriage occurs man and wife go secretly at night to bury the foetus. For seven days they see no one's face. On the sixth day they go together at midnight across the river and bathe on the far bank and eat there some bitter leaves, *nim* or lemon. The next day, the seventh, they bathe on the near side of the stream and drink a little tulsi and cowdung water.

To cause an artificial abortion is considered very bad, and if the scandal becomes public it leads to excommunication. Yet it is the usual rule when an unmarried girl becomes pregnant for her to go to the boy whom she believes to be the father and asks him to give her abortifacients. He says, 'If there is true friendship between you and me, I will bring it out'—meaning that he is not going to take the risk for a mere passing fancy. He provides the materials and some friendly old woman does the work. She massages the girl with castor oil, puts some of it in her vulva and makes her drink some mixed with the strongest possible liquor

on an empty stomach ('a hungry belly'). A medicine is made from the root of the *ancona* tree, pounded up and mixed with oil. The massage is often very severe and is said to lead sometimes to permanent injury; for this reason girls do not generally worry about getting an abortion unless the father was a member of the same clan.

Among the Juang the process of parturition is normally easy and straightforward; no midwife is or can be employed. When it was suggested as a measure of social benefit that a midwife should be provided for a group of Juang villages, the people insisted that they would not allow her into their houses. In the first place it was unnecessary, 'for our women are strong and we know what to do'; in the second place an outsider should not be present at a time of strong magical infection; and in the third place since any difficulties that might arise are invariably the work of ghosts or evil spirits, what could a midwife do to avert them?

A boy is born in nine months, a girl in ten. There is no special birth-hut erected; the scene of birth is a corner of the little hut in which the child has probably been conceived. The floor is cow-dunged and a flat stone is placed for the mother to sit on. Old women of the Juang tribe, but no one else, gather to help. The mother 'squats as if she were relieving herself,' the others hold her.

Difficult labour may be due to a witch, a jealous ghost or to 'sin' which in this case implies adultery. The Rau-uria, often a female Rau-uria who appears only on these occasions, is summoned and diagnoses the trouble. If it is discovered that it is sin that is preventing delivery, a cock must immediately be offered to Mahaprabhu and promise made of amendment in due course. It is specially the female Rau-uria who, for wise and practical reasons, deals with this very delicate matter. But if it is obvious that it is a *deo* or *bhut* that is causing the trouble, a male Rau-uria is called. Under these circumstances a man may approach the place of birth. He gives water in which the iron point of a hoe has been washed—perhaps so that as a hoe brings out the hidden roots its influence will now bring out the hidden child. He may make an infusion of *gunja* bark, or he may bring the flower of a sago palm and put it by the parturient woman's head. A little may be powdered and put on her hands and feet. He recommends the old women to rub oil on her back and belly. He may, in an urgent case, wash the image of Gram Siri and give the water to the woman to drink. The husband may be told to cut a hanging banyan branch while he holds his breath. He must bring it home, grind up a little and give it to his wife to drink with a little hair.

If after delivery the placenta is not easily expelled, they grind a little of the very bitter *pitauru* root and give it to the mother with some hair in order to make her retch. In a bad case a practised woman ties a thread round the cord and pulls. The Rau-uria makes a green bamboo into a sort of hook and throws it to and fro over the roof of the house seven times. Then the hook will magically extract the placenta.

If all is well, the mother herself or an old neighbourly woman (and in rare instances the father himself) cuts the umbilical cord. If it is a girl a knife is used and the cord is cut over an iron spud. If it is a boy, the cord is cut with a sharp arrow over an arrow-head. Either the grandmother or the father takes the placenta wrapped in a siari-leaf cup and buries it behind the house. Sometimes it is buried at the very spot where the child was delivered and the ground is immediately plastered with wet mud. The child is bathed with warm water and allowed to sleep.

Later, when the child's umbilical stump falls, they make a little bundle with *haldi* and *arwa* rice all tied up in a *bauhinia vahlii* leaf and an old woman pushes it into the thatch of the house saying, 'May many more children be born.' If a child is afflicted with a large unsightly stump, the father goes somewhere on a Sunday. When he returns he holds his breadth seven times and touching the stump with his head cloth, sits on it. The stump will then go flat as the squashed head-cloth.

After birth the mother is regarded as unclean and in a state of taboo, for a period that varies from a week in Pal Lahara, to three weeks in Dhenkanal, and to five months for a boy and three months for a girl in Keonjhar. Intercourse may begin again after a month and a half in Pal Lahara, after three months in Dhenkanal and after five months in Keonjhar. 'If we approach a wife too soon,' said a Juang at Korba, 'she smells like a fish'.

But everywhere a pot of water is kept ready behind the house and the mother washes there daily for a week and must be careful to see no one. If her own husband sees her face he too is unclean. The mother is given food at a distance and she is kept on a strict diet. This diet varies but the important thing is that it is a diet. Where an old neighbour cut the cord, the same woman cooks for the mother giving her gruel and rice for a week; on the seventh day she throws away the pot used during the dangerous period. In some villages the mother may only eat rice and salt. She must not eat curry for six months.

On the seventh day after birth the mother gets up in the dark and herself fills in the pit over which she has been bathing. She throws away the pot and cleans the house. She washes her clothes with plantain ash. She herself cuts the child's hair. On the same day the *mamu*¹ or a *bandhu* relative does the father's hair and is rewarded with a gift of four pice.

The child must now be named. Sometimes this is done by old women dropping rice in a pot and taking names until one of the grains floats. Sometimes the father has a dream in which an Ancestor appears to say who has been reborn in the child. When they name the child it will cry if it is not correct and the Rau-uria then has to be consulted. At the time of giving the name, a thread is tied round the child's waist.

¹ A word applied both to the mother's brother, elder or younger, and to the father-in-law.

A foot-presentation, contrary to the usual opinion, is regarded as very lucky. 'The mother and father will always get plenty to eat, there will be no disease in the village, no snake or tiger will approach.'

A Murha child, conceived so soon after the birth of its predecessor that the mother had no intervening menstrual period, is dangerous. It must wear a bracelet of Virgin Iron and be kept indoors during a storm for fear of lightning.

A child born with a strangulating cord is lucky.

A child born in a caul is very lucky in Pal Lahara, equally unlucky in Keonjhar. It is obvious that the Juang have in either case based their opinion on the actual sequence of events. In one case things went well, in the other ill, after such a birth, which in any case is rare. In Pal Lahara, I was told that it was dangerous to be born in half a caul. The caul itself was to show the parents that the child would be happy. But if a child is born in half a caul and on a Saturday, 'we burn it at once and that woman will never have another child. If a witch can get hold of a caul she can use it to turn a corpse into a ghost.'

A child born with teeth 'destroys everything.' The Juang remember one such monstrosity at Baru in Keonjhar.

Out of the 100 families examined, twins were born in 5 cases. In one case the mother died giving birth to them; in another case at Khajuria, one of the pair died in the womb and its twin came out and survived. The people burnt the cord to avert further danger. In no case did the same mother give birth to more than one pair.

The general view is that twins are lucky. Two boys are called Kanto and Sunto; two girls are Sukli and Tikli, Ratni and Jatni or Prajani and Rajni. A boy and a girl are known as Ratan and Ratni.

The Juang believe that twins are the result of a number of not very serious indiscretions. A woman accidentally eats a twin plantain or eats off a double leaf. Her husband goes to her with exaggerated vigour and the placenta divides in two. Sometimes a Rakas comes in a dream on the day of conception and gives twins to the mother.

A Pal Lahara view of the matter is that 'during her menses a woman has two flowers. On the day at the close of her period they begin to dry up. But if a man goes to her before they have dried he may fertilize both.'

At Pitanari, Brindo Juang said his two maternal aunts were very fond of each other and were reborn as twins.

Sometimes twins are named from the day of the week—such as Somaru and Somari or Somari and Somri; sometimes the younger is called after the father's younger brother and the elder after his elder brother.

The Juang mother feeds her child for a year to a year and a half, often until the next child is born. The breasts, which are normally displayed or covered only with a few ornaments, are re-

garded with reverence both as things of beauty and as a source of life and nourishment. Like the Muria the Juang classify the breasts more by their milk-giving than by their aesthetic qualities. Thus the *anu nunuro*, or 'deer breast' gives poor milk and the child that feeds on it will be thin. The *laweng* breast (I do not know the meaning) has the same bad reputation. The *latop nunuro*, which is 'flat like a tortoise,' also gives poor milk. The *kandai* is the root breast, an old woman's which has 'nothing in it ; only the root is left.'

On the other hand, as in many parts of tribal India, the *bagh nunuro*, or tiger breast, is strong and filled with the best kind of milk. Lovely to look at and to fondle, this type of breast is everywhere honoured by the tribesmen. The *akwakena*, a word which seems to mean 'round,' is another admired type of breast ; 'before the child is born it stands up firmly and is good to hold.' The *jilor nunuro* is the familiar sambhar breast which gives good milk and produces a fat contented baby. The *dodka* or gourd breast also gives good milk.

A young girl's breasts that 'stand up like bel fruit' are called *tokobdo* or *tokob nunuro* ; breasts equally beautiful, but larger and soft to the touch, are known as *lobong nunuro*.

If the milk fails or is insufficient, there are many remedies. If the husband can get hold of a few drops of tiger's milk and give it to the mother it will produce an abundant flow—obviously by the analogy of the tiger breasts. He may go on a Sunday to a *duḍhra* tree, offer it rice and haldi, pick one of the leaves, put it carefully in a leaf-cup and bring it home and put it on his wife's head. The idea apparently is that the milky sap of the leaf will affect the woman favourably.

When Lulu, the Padhan of Kanaiguda, was a baby, his mother was killed by a witch. Her mother, his grandmother, got medicine from the *duḍhra* tree and put it on her head. Milk came to her breasts and she fed the child.

Another method is to get an earthworm, roast it and give it to the mother with rice. Some people believe that simply to put more salt in the usual rice or millet gruel and to take a lot of this will increase the flow of milk.

When the time comes to wean the child, the mother puts chili or cowdung on her nipples. She tries to frighten the child, saying 'It will bite you.' or 'There's going to be a new baby and he'll beat you.' An elaborate method was recorded in Dhenkanal. If the child refuses to leave the breast, the father finds the small mud nest of a hornet. He must bring it home on a Sunday and the mother grinds it up with *arwa*-rice and makes it into bread with a *siari* leaf, cooking it only on one side. The mother stays indoors ; the father takes the child out and shuts the door. He returns to the door and the mother opens it quickly and hands him the bread without taking breath. The father gives it to the child and goes away immediately, leaving the child alone to eat it. After this,

it is said, the child will lose its desire for its mother's milk.

When a child's first tooth falls, the mother spits on it and throws it on the roof from behind the house, saying,

Take the old tooth away, rat

Give the new teeth, rat.

Juang menstruation rules are of the same pattern as those to be found in other parts of India. But here they gain emphasis from the Hindu festival of Rajopurub which is imitated in many Juang villages.

The Rajopurub festival is in honour of the menstrual period of Mother Earth. Immediately before the rains, Mother Earth lies ready to receive seed and germinate. The most fruitful time, according to primitive notions of conception, is immediately after the period. It is therefore assumed that Mother Earth has a period just before sowing time. The celebration of this promotes her fertility. In Keonjhar, no one touches the earth on this day, no one may bring water and no work should be done. On the previous day the people bring all the water they may need, singing,

Today we must carry water

For Rajo falls tomorrow.

The people feast and swing in great wooden swings erected near the town and outside most of the Hindu and Bhuiya villages. The children play *dudu* in the fields. 'It is to relieve her pain that the children play on the belly of Mother Earth.'

The Juang observe the festival in a modified form, but not everywhere. In a Hindu centre like Gonasika it naturally receives more emphasis than in remote Korba. There is a large Juang swing in Gonasika. But the existence of the festival impresses the Juang mind with the importance of menstruation and its connection with fertility.

There was no menstruation 'when Sat was in the world'. 'In the old days there were fewer men than women. But Dharam Deota thought it over, and made more men than women. Thus each woman had two or three men. This brought sin and menstruation to the world.' This does not sound like genuine primitive opinion; an evidently older view is that menstruation was caused by the bite of a rat or a snake which entered between a woman's legs under the leaf-covering.

The Juang have no menstruation hut and no special part of the dwelling-place where a woman in this condition must live. They do not make a special door for her. Formerly women did not wear a pubic cloth under their leaf dress, and the blood was allowed to trickle down and was wiped away with leaves. Now however, whether a woman is wearing leaves or rags, she always puts on a pubic cloth. This is said to be to prevent another bite from a rat or snake.

The first menstruation generally occurs while a girl is still unmarried and sleeping in the Danga base. There is the usual amusement and ragging in the village. The girl is ashamed and hides

herself as much as possible. She sleeps in the Dangri-basa but apart from the others. She is unclean for six days. On the seventh day, she bathes in a stream and washes her clothes, with the ash made from plantain leaves. Her pubic cloth is thrown away where no one will get it. She puts on a new cloth and returns home, where her mother anoints her with haldi or with a mixture of ground aonra and methi. The girl fetches water and cowdungs the house and they sprinkle it with water in which a sprig of tulsi has been dipped. The next day a little feast is given to relatives and neighbours.

After the menarche a girl can no longer visit the family ancestors, for she will soon be deserting them and joining another clan.

During menstruation a woman is subject to a long list of taboos. She must not go into any cultivated clearing or touch any tree 'for any living thing she touches withers and fruit falls from a tree. 'Her touch will ruin the crops.' She must not go to dig for roots, or enter the cattle-shed ; she must not approach the Devisthan or the Darbar club. She must not husk rice or grind wheat ; she must not make a mat. She must not go to the ordinary bathing-place nor may she fetch water. Cooking is, of course, strictly taboo. Sexual intercourse might have fatal results for the male partner.

A girl must not dance during her period and she must not get married in it. If the marriage party arrives for her at such a time, her parents should say, 'Our daughter has fever ; come again after a week.' If they proceed with the marriage the girl might die.

As usual the husband is affected. He has to fetch water and cook, so for practical reasons there are no taboos on his ordinary essential services to the home. But he must not plough, sow seed, go to dig for roots, watch the crops. He cannot go to the Devisthan or salute anyone with Johar. He must not accompany the rest of the villagers on a hunt and he cannot share in any distribution of game. If the Bhuitar or Dihuri's wife enters her period during a ceremony, her husband must defer it to some more auspicious occasion.

It is said that in Boram village, Chattru Juang went to the Devisthan while his wife was in her period and on that very day a snake bit him. He had thought that since it was the seventh day she had washed her head, but he was mistaken.

The Juang say that at first they did not tattoo. But when people died and went to Mahaprabhu he could not tell which were men and which were women. When he found out he used to brand the women with a red-hot iron. To avoid the pain of this, human beings got themselves tattooed.

In Pal Lahara and Keonjhar the tattooing is usually done by members of the tribe. In some villages I was told that unmarried girls must be tattooed by other unmarried girls. The ink is made by mixing plantain ash, lamp black and the milky sap of the *bassia latifolia* tree ; sometimes gourd ash and castor oil is used.

3 Ash of *urda*, *mung*, or *ramtilla* stalks may also be used, but there is a strict taboo on ordinary wood-ash.

The pattern is pricked with thorns or needles from the bazaar.

The characteristic Juang mark is placed on a girl's forehead. It consists of three lines converging at the bottom and is said to represent a bow and arrow. The tattooing should be done before marriage. 'These are the marks of one's parents' house'.

Afterwards the girl's body is anointed with haldi oil and the wounds are fomented with hot water till the pain subsides. A girl is unclean for three days and should behave just as if she was in her menstrual period. On the fourth day she bathes, a little haldi oil is put on her and she is clean again. The tattooer is paid very little—for a single pattern one chapati is considered sufficient.

In Dhenkanal the tattooing seems to be done more often by wandering Kedar women. They say that it is 'only for beauty' and often put the symbol of a man on the forehead. On the arm they may make a plantain tree, a peacock or a deer; on the breast a flower; on the leg a plantain. There are no regular patterns, however, and there is considerable variety due to the taste of the people and no doubt sometimes to the visions of the medicine-men.

II

THE DORMITORY¹

The dormitory, called by the Juang Darbar or Mandagarh, flourishes in Keonjhar, but has generally decayed in Pal Lahara and Dhenkanal. In Keonjhar the dormitory stands in the centre of the village and is often an imposing building with carved beams and pillars. Near by is a separate, smaller house, the Dhangri-basa, for the girls.

The Juang dormitory may be considered under several aspects; it is the centre of the male social and economic life of the village; it is an organization of the youth of the tribe; it is a school of dancing; it is an expression of the communal art of the people.

The place of the Darbar in the social life of the village is emphasized by its construction. It is a big comfortable house, open all along one side, with a high verandah. At the back of the house, there is often a small room in which goats are kept for sacrifice or an enclosure for the village gods. On a platform are great bins for the collection of the tax-grain. At Samagiri, the money-lender's accounts were written on the wall: at Bali, they were kept—inscribed on strips of palm-leaf—on a ledge. In the middle of the room is a fire, kept always burning.

In the Darbar the men assemble for every important event in their corporate life. Here they settle the distribution of clearings for their axe-cultivation 'so that the gods can overhear everything we do.' Here the priest's axe, with which the first tree is felled,

¹ Unfortunately, my notes on the Juang dormitory and on the dancing expeditions which play so important a part in the life of the younger members of the tribe, have been lost. I am, therefore, reproducing here the section on the Juang dormitory from *The Muria and their Ghotul* (Bombay, 1947), pp. 299ff.

is stored. From the Darbar fire is taken to kindle the brushwood in the clearing. Before every festival the men meet here to decide what is to be done. Here the grain, which is to be taken to the treasury for the payment of taxes, is collected. Visitors are entertained in the Darbar, especially that special type of visitor who has come ceremonially to arrange a wedding. The Darbar, in fact; combines the functions of a club, a church and a municipal office.

This means, of course, that the Darbar is less a 'kingdom of the young' than the Muria ghotul. But it does serve, in its way, to organize and control the youth of the tribe. Unmarried boys sleep here 'so that they will not see their parents together.' They are called *bhendia*; unmarried girls are *dhangri*. They are not given titles, but their leaders are known as Murobhendia and Murodhangri respectively. The Darbar members have their social duties as in Bastar: the *bhendia* must attend on visitors and assist at funerals; boys and girls must dance at weddings and festivals: they may be called to work in the fields by a villager in need of help. Discipline seems to be strict. The girls have to keep their own house in order and clean and cowdung that of the boys. Younger boys must fetch wood for the Darbar fire, bring water and tooth-twigs for the toilet of their seniors, and massage them in the evenings. Girls have to provide leaves and make leaf-plates and cups for communal feasts.

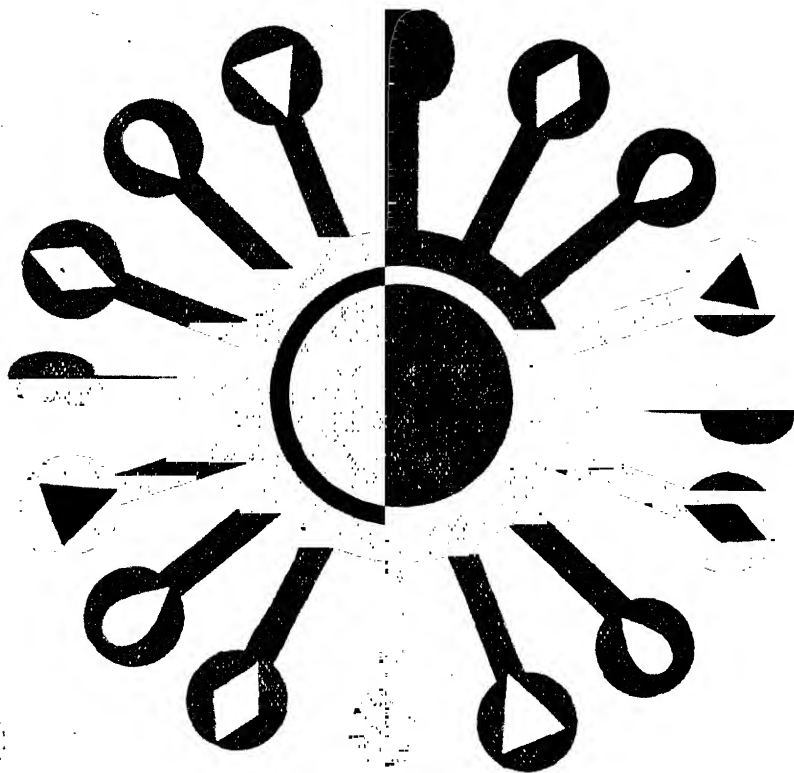
Failure to perform those duties earns the usual punishments. Boys are sometimes beaten; sometimes they must hold their ears and get up and down so many times; they may be forced to sit outside in the cold; or they may be expelled. After expulsion the parents have to come with handfuls of tobacco and a gift of liquor, and touch the feet of the elder boys before the offender is forgiven. The Darbar has a useful function in training boys and girls in habits of discipline and obedience, in developing their social conscience and in making them alert and clean.

As in Bastar, the Juang dormitory has an important influence on art and music. In many villages beams and pillars are elaborately carved with elephants, hunting and dancing scenes, female figures and rows of women's breasts. Boys are inspired to decorate beautiful little combs as presents for the *dhangri*. The door into the sacred and reserved part of the dormitory is often well carved with conventional patterns. Where the Darbar has disappeared, as in Pal Lahara, there is a corresponding decline in the aesthetic sensibility of the tribe.

Even more important is the Darbar's influence in preserving tribal dancing. In Dhenkanal, where the dormitory had collapsed before the spread of education, the Juang have abandoned their beautiful and characteristic dances and adopted those of their low-caste Hindu neighbours. But in Keonjhar, the walls of every Darbar are hung with *chāṅg* guitars, and in some villages are preserved the very long (up to nine feet) *māṇḍar* drums used for

festivals. In fine weather, almost every night the girls come to the dancing-ground, which is invariably made in front of the Darbar, and dance with the boys. Both boys and girls go out separately on dancing expeditions to other villages, and many love-affairs and marriages result. Indeed, according to one legend of its origin, the Darbar came into being when Rusi (founder of the tribe) taught his sons and daughters to dance.

Rusi and his wife had twelve sons and twelve daughters; they dressed in leaves. Rusi said to himself, 'Now we have grown-up children, how can we all sleep in one house. They'll



Carving on a door of the Korba dormitory

see us at work.' So he made the children a separate house—in those days boys and girls slept in the same building. But after a time Rusi made them separate houses.

So there they were—boys in one house, girls in another, the old people in a third. But frequently late at night the boys and girls would come crying to their parents, 'Mother!' 'Father!' and Rusi and his wife could not sleep properly. This troubled Rusi very much till he thought of making a *chāng*

and invented the dance. He taught the children this new game, and every night they danced till they were exhausted and then went to sleep quietly in their own houses.

The relationship between the boys and girls of the dormitories is complicated by the fact that originally the Juang had a system of territorial exogamy, whereby each village was occupied by one clan only and thus boys and girls seeking amorous adventure or regular marriage had to find it outside the boundaries of their own homes. This meant that the Darbar, like the Hill Maria ghotul, became an exclusively male institution, taboo to the women and girls of its own village not for any magico-religious reason but for fear of clan-incest. At the same time there grew up a system of ceremonial exchange of visits between the dormitories of different villages which seems to have aimed at promoting an intimacy that would lead to marriage. Boys would visit a village where the girls were of a marriageable clan, stay in their dormitory for three or four days, dance with them and ultimately marry them. The girls would return the visits, dance with the boys in front of the Darbar and retire to sleep in the girls' dormitory, where they might be visited by the boys.

But gradually this tidy arrangement broke down and today few Juang villages are the exclusive possession of one clan. Out of 100 marriages examined, in 23 cases men had married girls of their own villages. This has meant, of course, that where there are girls of other clans in the Dhangri-basa, the whole atmosphere is changed. The boys and girls of the same village can dance together freely and there is no longer a taboo on intimacy. But the Darbar has retained its integrity and the taboo on women has survived the reason for its existence. The rule now permits boys to visit the Dhangri-basa, but prohibits girls from sleeping in the Darbar. At the end of a dance boys and girls retire to their separate houses, and then any boys belonging to the right clans go to the girls' house and ask for tobacco. The girls let them in and massage and entertain them: not infrequently they spend the night together. But I have been told that there is a rule that a boy must on no account have intercourse daily: he should not attempt it, at least with the same girl, more than once in four or six days.

The realities of life in the Juang dormitories can be most clearly seen in a few extracts from Juang life-histories. Thus Bhudwa, the Dihuri of Kordagi (Keonjhar State), described how,

When I was about ten years old I went to sleep in the Mandagarh. My father made me a *chāng* drum and I worshipped it. At night when we finished dancing we used to go to the girls' house and they used to massage our arms and legs. At festivals the girls used to cook food for us and bring it to the Darbar: the *bhendia* would collect a little money and give it to the girls. Each of us gave his own *dhāngri* a comb, ring and necklace. I had two girls with whom I exchanged presents. When we went to dance in other villages—I used to go to Kajuria and

Banspal—we used to take parched rice and ornaments for the girls there. On our way home the girls would stop us and sing songs and we made flower-friendships. I was very shy at first, but in my second year when the girls came with presents to dance in our village I slept with two of them.

Bangru of Nawagaon (Pal Lahara State) remembered a time when the dormitory was more flourishing in the State than it is today. He described how a group of girls came to his house when he was about ten years old and said, 'Come to dance and sing and sleep in the dormitory.' Soon afterwards he broke a drum and had to pay a fine of eight annas in liquor. 'I had affairs with four or five girls after the dances were done. Now I am old, but when I see the boys and girls meeting in the dance, my youthful memories return and I want to laugh.' Gelu of Badhimarra had his first girl in the Dhangri-basa when he was about fourteen. 'I made love to her with parched rice. How sweet it was! But when it was over everything went dark around me.' Basu of Rangmatiya was approached, most improperly, by a girl while he was sleeping in the Darbar. He refused her and she made him impotent by her magic. Ratna of Khajuria said, 'I loved playing on the *chāng* and dancing. One day I made a splendid comb and stuck it in my girl's hair during a dance. She fell in love with me and we ran away together.'

III

THE JUANG DANCE

The 'animal ballet' of the Juang has become justly famous as the result of a splendid passage in Dalton. Dalton describes how the dancers 'made their first appearance at night and danced by torchlight; it was a wild weird-like sight. The men sang as they danced, accompanying themselves on deep-sounding tambourines; the girls holding together and circling round them in a solemnly grotesque manner.' The next day Dalton persuaded the party to repeat their performance by daylight, when they gave not only the solemn measure of the night before, but a variety of sportive dances, some 'quite dramatic in effect, and it was altogether a most interesting ballet'.

In one figure, the girls moved round in single file keeping the right hand on the right shoulder of the girl in front, in another with bodies inclined, they wreathed their arms and advanced and retreated in line. In this movement, the performance bore a strong resemblance to one of the Kol dances. Then we had the bear dance. The girls acting independently advance with bodies so much inclined, that their hands touch the ground; thus they move not unlike bears, and by a motion from the knees the bodies wriggle violently, and the broad tails of green leaves flap up and down in a most ludicrous manner.

The pigeon dance followed ; the action of a love-making pigeon when he struts, pouts, sticks out his breast, and scrapes the ground with his wings was well imitated, the hands of the girls doing duty as wings. Then came a pig and tortoise dance, in which the motions of those animals were less felicitously rendered, and the quail dance in which they squatted and pecked at the ground after the fashion of those birds. They concluded with the vulture dance, a highly dramatic finale. One of the men was made to lie on the ground and represent a dead body. The girls in approaching it imitated the hopping, sidling advance of the bird of prey, and using their hands as beaks, nipped and pinched the pseudo-corpses in a manner that made him occasionally forget his character and yell with pain. This caused great amusement to his tormentors.

I had heard of a ballet called 'the Cocks and Hens,' but this they could not be induced to exhibit. It was admitted that it was impossible to keep the leaves in proper position whilst they danced it. It was too much of a romp, especially for a day performance.¹

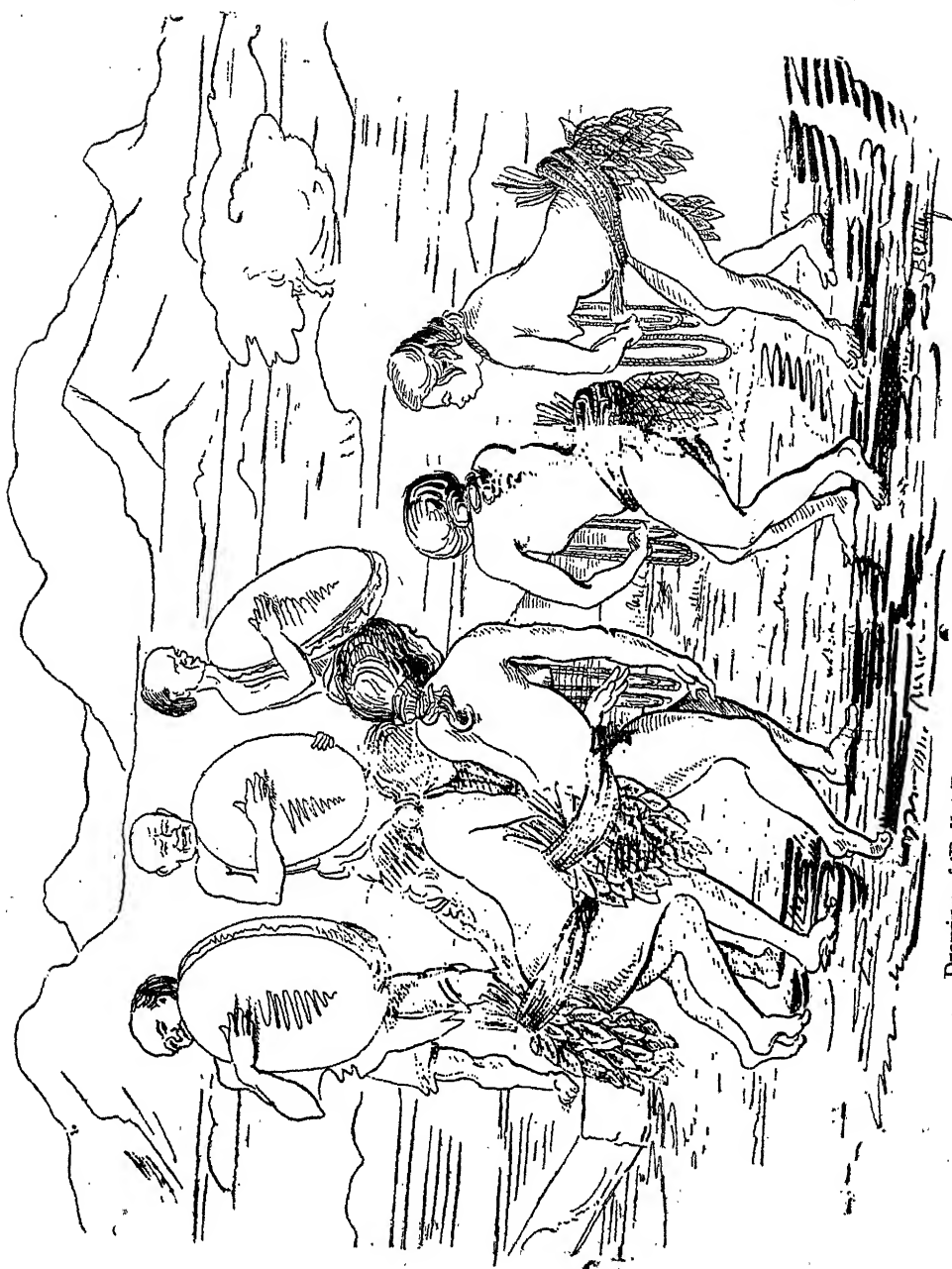
Although Dalton was impressed by the 'ludicrous' character of the dance, he was able to interpret it. Samuells, however, appears to have been unaware that it had any meaning and can only point and gesticulate with ill-timed mirth. Speaking of the leaf-dress, he says,

The effect of such a costume on the spectator who sees a woman rustling along in it for the first time, is, as may be supposed, ludicrous in no ordinary degree, but it is in the dance that its absurdity is most conspicuous. The Puttoo women are in the habit of dancing in a circle to the noise of a large drum beat by the men. They move round and round in the same measured step, occasionally advancing towards the musicians and then retreating, the body bent forward in a ecumbent posture, the left hand holding the end of the necklace and the right hanging down. In this position, it will be readily understood the stiff bundle of twigs in front necessarily presses inconveniently against the legs. It is, therefore, disposed of by being thrust between them. This again as a natural consequence raises up the branch; behind the limp ends of the twigs go bobbing up and down with the motions of the dancers, and when fifteen or twenty women are attitudinizing together, the scene becomes as grotesque as it is possible to conceive. The attitudes are not in the least exaggerated.²

The musical instrument most characteristic of the Juang is the large circular tambourine called *chāng*. A specimen in my possession is made of two half circles of wood, $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick and 3" broad, nailed together to make a large circle of 24" diameter. One face is covered by a piece of cowhide, hairy side outwards, which

¹ Dalton, op. cit., p. 155.

² Samuells, op. cit., p. 298.



Drawing of 'Ballet Puttoesque' by Strange (J.A.S.B., Vol. XXV)

has been cut out in a circle of appropriate size. After being stretched over the frame the edge of the hide (the hair has been removed from the face, but remains on the part bent over) has been turned back and the double skin has been pierced by wooden pointed nails 2" to 2½" long which pass through holes in the wooden frame and hold it firmly in place. There are 33 of these wooden nails and 4 iron nails used in the *chāṅg*. Across the upper part of the *chāṅg*, at a point where the diameter is 18", there is fixed rod of twisted iron on which are a number of iron rings, which gives a tone to the drumming.

The *chāṅg* is made of ebony or korhari wood. The youth who is going to make it goes to the forest in Phagun 'when wood is tender and the leaves are falling.' He 'invites' the tree in the usual fashion by throwing rice over it, and then cuts it in the name of Boram Deota saying, 'O Boram Deota, I am going to make a *chāṅg* for you. Let the wood soon be ready.' He cuts and shapes the wood on the spot and then brings it home. Here he makes a circular ring in the ground, fits the wood into it and heaps fire over it. When it is hard and ready the boy takes the wood to a Lohar who nails the two pieces together, inserts the rod, and makes holes round the frame for the wooden nails that will hold the cover in place. The nails are of Virgin Iron and are hammered in the name of Bhimo.

The boy has already prepared the hide. He removes the hair with a knife, dries it in the sun and stretches it over the frame, cutting it to the required shape.

The *chāṅg* should first be used at a marriage. On the first day of the marriage the boy worships the *chāṅg* and offers a fowl to Boram Deota, saying, 'O Boram Deota, let our *chāṅg* sound well.' He offers haldi, ghee and incense and flowers in the names of Kant Devi and Dharam Deota and says, 'O gods, let our *chāṅg* sound loud, and strong; let the *chāṅg* of our *bandhu*-relatives be weak and feeble. Let their's break, but let our's be sound.' There follows the '*chāṅg*-battle' between the two marriage-parties. If the party to which the new *chāṅg* belongs defeats its opponents, it is taken as a very good omen, and the lucky boy exclaims, 'O Boram Deota, make this *chāṅg* sound so loudly that the very grass will spring up and no small child will dare come near.'

When not in use the *chāṅg* are usually kept hanging on the walls of the Darbar. Before being beaten the face of the drum should be warmed before a fire.

Beside the *chāṅg*, the Juang use a *dhul*-drum of the common pattern, which is often made for them by members of the Hadi caste; the *māṇḍar* drum, which they may make themselves; and the *ghumra* drum, a waisted pot over the mouth of which is stretched a piece of lizard skin. This is usually used in Dhenkanal where the Ghumra dance is common. At Ghumra Puni in the month of Sravan, the Dihuri worships Kumundai Deota; each boy brings his *ghumra*-drum and the Dihuri says, 'Look, we worship you; help us. Whatever witch or ghost hears the sound of our drum, let it run away'.



View of the Malyagiri Mountain



Scene in Keonjhar State, illustrating hill-clearings above regular rice-cultivation in the valley



Chess-board pattern of hill-clearings



Scenery in Feonjhar State





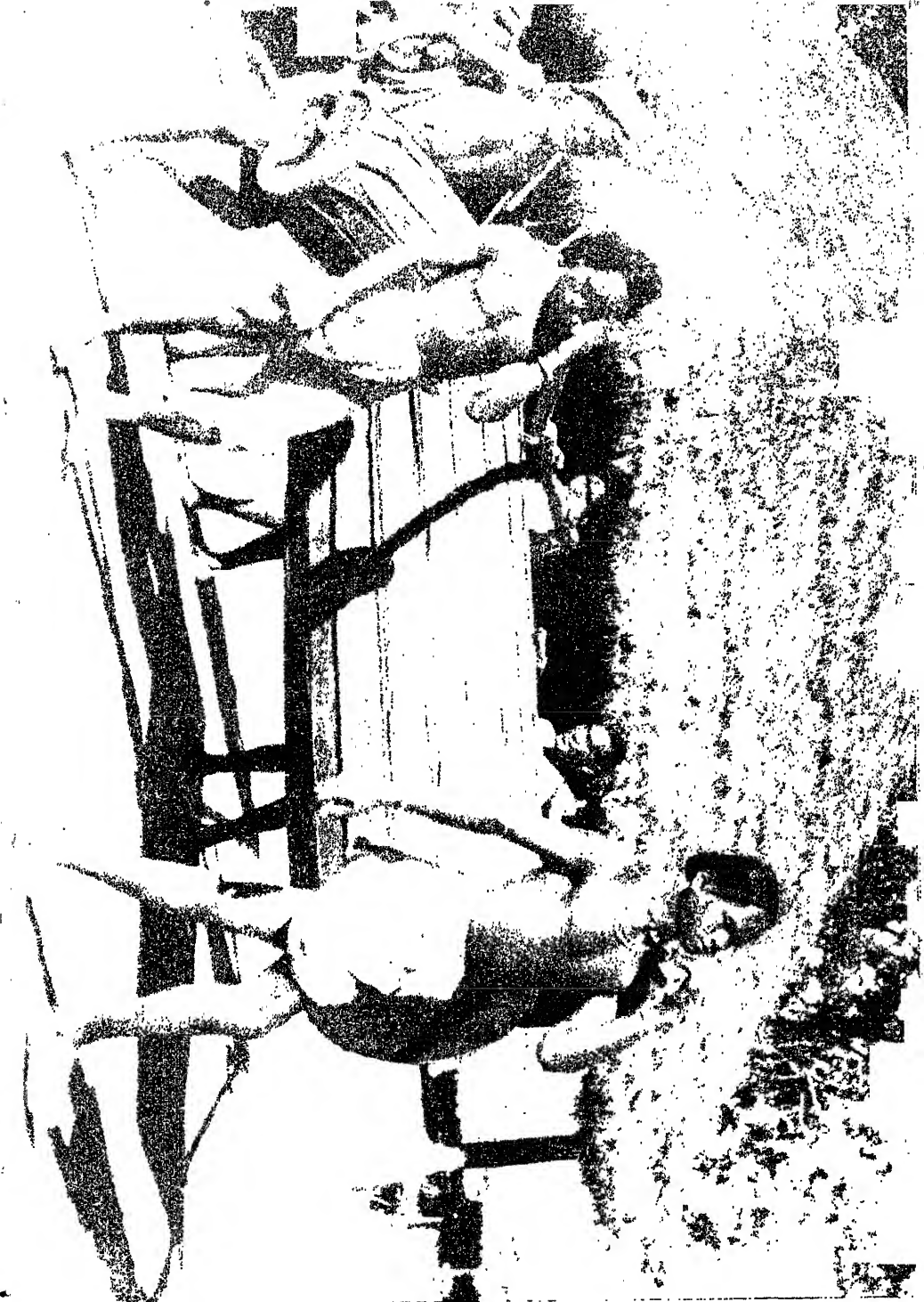
M. L. ... from Kaniar State



A Juang girl and
her grandmother,
of Tambar, Pal
Lahara State

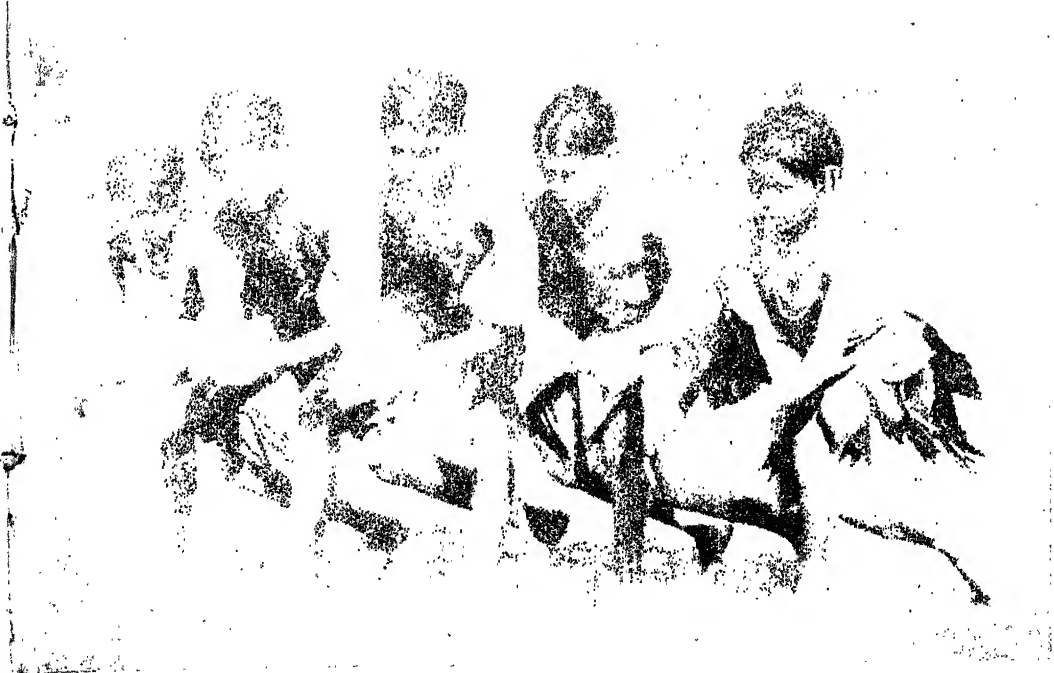


The
drum
Bali



Dancers with
chāng in Pal
Lahara State





The peacock dance

The vulture dance





The deer dance

The sparrow dance





Juang youth of Keonjhar with drum



Stone emblems of Gram Siri

A Rau-uria makes fire



In Dhenkanal also they worship the *chāṅg* at Kartik Puni in the names of Rusi and Rusain, and at every marriage and when there is a drought.

In Keonjhar I saw very large drums of the *māṇḍar* pattern. The one at Korba was six feet long and had a diameter of fifteen inches. It had been made out of a single piece of wood and cowhide was stretched across either face. It was kept in the Darbar and brought out for marriages and festivals. It was carried by two men and beaten by a third with two sticks.

Every dance is accompanied by its special songs and some of these are very beautiful. Those accompanying the animal and bird ballet are superior to the Ghumra songs of Dhenkanal. Although these are obviously old, they are sung in a bastard Oriya rather than in Juang.

FOR THE DEER DANCE

I have given elsewhere a song about a hunter in chase of a deer and noticed the sympathetic manner in which the animal's fear and agony is portrayed. Here there is, in the first song, a possible reference to the Ramayana in the allusion to the *māya mrigo*, the phantom deer. When sung softly to the subdued throbbing of the *chāṅg*, the first line is very pretty—*Māya mrigo re māya mrigo re māya mrigo charu chhanti paranti urāri māya mrigo re*.

O phantom deer, phantom deer
As the phantom deer are grazing
They suddenly leap away
First goes the roe
Then goes the buck
The phantom deer are grazing
With lowered horns they graze
There is a hunter on the path
He fits and shoots his arrow
The deer falls
O phantom deer.

Another song for the same dance comes from Dhenkanal. Here the deer is more fortunate.

Leaping leaping comes the deer
On a high rock it leaps
It leaps across the fence of thorns
The sambhar's horns stand up
The sambhar draws near and stands
But brother hunter does not put fire into his gun.

FOR THE BOAR DANCE

This song of the Boar Dance is an excellent example of oblique symbolism. The boar is guzzling its food, and the youth also guzzles his lust for the girl Bhusandi. She is perfect as a mortar for his rice-husker, that is as a lover. But he who elopes with a girl must

wander as the wild boar in the forest and run away when the angry parents come in pursuit.

Snout of the wild boar
Guzzles *taku-taku*
I am running away
With the girl Bhusandi
Her body is slender
But for the rice-husker she is perfect
The wild boar wander in the forest
When they see a man
They run away for fear
And hide among the trees.

FOR THE ELEPHANT DANCE

The Elephant Dance seems to lend itself to songs of a political and social nature, probably because the time when the people generally see elephants is when a Raja or some high official visits them.

I

The mahout is ready ; come, let us get the elephant
Maharaja of Lahara is going ; he worships Malyagiri
The Pan watchmen go round to trouble everybody
There were once eighteen elephants
But from Keonjhar came a Bengali clerk
And he took four away
Tosa Padhan from Siringo village collected food for them
A Pathan sepoy beat the people
They said to the Padhan, See how this Pathan beats us
By the river they made their camp
Gurudu was leader of Tambur ; he collected grain for the
elephants
The people of Tambur gave grain for the elephants
Thence the elephants went to Kurmura
There they made their camp
By day they cried, Look, look
By night they cried, Look, look
Till we had no more hope of living.

2

The elephant has eaten the rice of the fields of Kumri
The people there are very angry
The Padhan of Kumri has collected his people
Indro is sending rain ; it will be easy for them to dig the
ground
The people took their hoes and mattocks
Those diggers were very strong
Where is the elephant ? Climb on its back and bring it
Where is the sepoy ? He is sitting in Kuanr Thana
He is tying his turban tightly

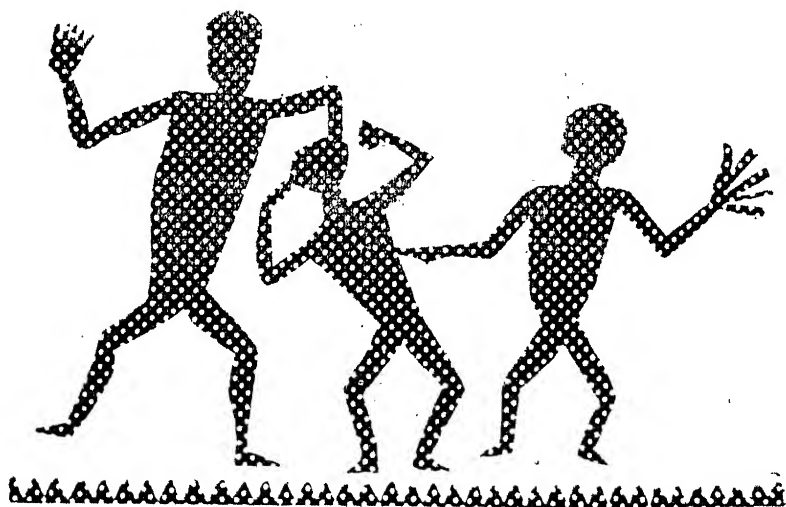
The Kuanr Havalдар is angry *tar-bar*
 In front they are beating the forest
 Behind there is a secret trap
 Where is the elephant ? Climb on its back and bring it.

3

Lasro-phasro
 Sways the elephant
 What fruit
 Does the elephant eat ?
 Four-and-twenty young girls
 I will pick and bring
 Four-and-twenty
Pān-eating girls I will bring
 The elephant has eaten
 The branch of a banyan
Lasro-phasro
 Sways the elephant.

FOR THE SNAKE DANCES

One of these dances imitates the long curving body of the python; the other represents the dance of the cobra with hood erect. The upright tail of the peacock and the cobra's erected hood have a peculiar fascination for simple people, and the Juang girls represent them very well by the movements of their hands.



Carving of dancers at Balipal

I

Like a mountain you are sleeping, python
 Python, python, python, python of Malyagiri

In a cool cool place you are sleeping, python
 Python, python; python, your tail is like a peacock's
 Python, when you eat a deer
 You catch it by the head
 Python, when you eat a sambhar
 You catch it by the head
 Python, python, python, python of Malyagiri
 Like a mountain you are sleeping.

2

Dance as the cobra dances
 With hood erect
 Girls, fair girls, don't be afraid
 The great snake people
 Live in the lower world
 With their bite they poison men
 Girls, fair girls, don't be afraid.

FOR THE ROOT DANCE

An old man is supposed to be talking to his wife

Bring the spud for roots
 Let us go for roots
 Old wife, for hunger
 The children are dying
 Look Daibo on our sorrow
 Old wife, let us go to search
 We have forgotten
 The place where the roots are
 Look Daibo on our sorrow.

2

Bring the spud
 And we'll go for roots
 Put a big basket
 On your head
 To get a new lover
 You must be very clever
 In the deep pool at Pando
 How cold is the water
 Let us go and see, Makro
 We will move our camp to Temra
 The girls of Temra are coming
 Half way to meet us
 Let us go and see, Makro
 Go and see Badimara
 The girls of Badimara
 Are thinking about us
 Let us go and see, Makro
 With a spud to dig roots.

Here the obvious symbolism of the spud and the digging has led the singers very far away from their original purpose, and a song that began with economics has ended, as is so often the case, with sex.

FOR THE BEAR DANCE

The Juang regard the bear as a very lustful animal, so lustful indeed that its wife cannot endure its company but has to live apart. Even when it attacks a man it at once becomes tumescent. In this song the words fit the *chāng* music admirably—

Bhālu bhālu bhālu re dumri khiya bhālu.

Bear bear bear
 Eater of wild figs
 When you have eaten them
 All along the path
 You leave your droppings
 Eater of wild figs
 Bear bear bear
 Eater of mangoes
 When you have eaten them
 All along the path
 You leave your droppings
 Eater of mangoes.

And the song proceeds through every kind of fruit—*jāmun*, *bhoir*, *chār*—and wild honey, for so long as the dancers wish to proceed.

FOR THE KOEL DANCE

The koel is the Indian cuckoo and the inspiration of a lot of good poetry. The opening of the song in the original has a pretty music.

Kuhukuhu re basant kueli
Toro jawāb ku mui chahi rahali—
Kuhukuhu, koel of spring
 I can hear what you are saying
 In the forest burns a fire
 With water from the hollow bamboo
 Quench the blazing fire
Kuhukuhu, koel of spring
 I can hear what you are saying.

FOR THE QUAIL DANCE

You quail you quail where are you quail
 The quail runs
 And hides beneath a tree
 The quail runs
 And hides beneath a kendu tree.

FOR THE SPARROW DANCE

Rungutiya bird ! Rungutiya bird !
 The Rungutiya bird sits on the stalk of *gangai*

Rat-rat she munches the grain
 The Gungutiya bird sits on the ears of rice
 To her tree she carries the grain
 The Rungutiya bird sits on the *rumha* branch
 To her tree she flies with the fruit
 She sits there and munches it *rat-rat*
 Rungutiya bird !

FOR THE COCK AND HEN DANCE

This song is from Dhenkanal. The idea in the song, which has nothing to do with cocks and hens, is that a young girl has lost her nose-ring out in the *koman* clearing. But she pretends that she dropped it in the house, for otherwise her parents may beat her. She weeps and her parents console her by promising her sweets.

The cock sleeps among the ashes
 The nose-ring is lost in the clearing.
 But Madhobi looks for it at home
 Look girl very carefully
 For you are playing a trick
 The two of you were there together
 See how the sweet-seller hastens to the bazaar.
 Wait and look after a while
 Put on your thin sari and look.

There is of course a suggestion that as the cock sleeps in the ashes, so the girl and her lover have slept among the ashes of the burnt clearing and thus lost the ring. In the old days, say the Juang, 'ashes were our beds and ashes our blankets'.

FOR THE PEACOCK DANCE

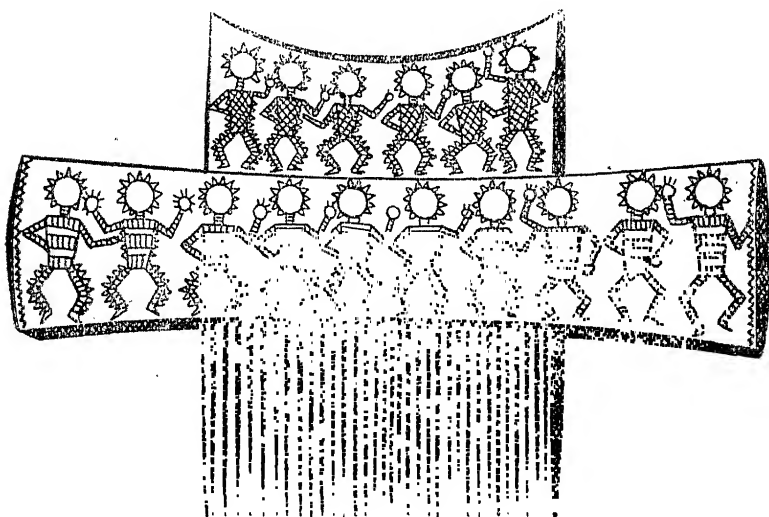
Red and green
 Are the peacock's
 Feathers
 As the long-tailed peacock
 Dances
 He watches his own shadow
 Which is the dance, girl
 That wearies your loins ?

FOR THE VULTURE DANCE

Golden vulture
 Silver vulture
 With ungainly hop
 She devours the corpse,
 Golden vulture
 Silver vulture
 With exploring bill
 She pulls out the offal
 Golden vulture
 Silver vulture

Flapping her wings
 She pecks the eyes
 Golden vulture
 Silver vulture
 She breaks the rai tree
 And drinks the sweet juice
 Golden vulture
 Silver vulture.

This song was from Dhenkanal, and is paralleled by another from Keonjhar. There is a very solemn and sinister note about the vulture songs, just as there is a grim and tragic realism about the vulture dances.



Dancers carved on a comb
 From the great Meru Mountain
 Rises the vulture
 From the Golden Mountain
 Rises the vulture
 On the great Meru Mountain
 There lay a corpse
 On the Golden Mountain
 Lay a corpse
 Eat eat vulture wife.
 Eat just a little
 Eat the flesh round the eyes
 Eat round the feet
 Eat eat vulture wife
 Pull out the bowels and eat
 Eat eat vulture wife

Peck with your beak and eat
 Eat eat vulture wife
 Flapping your wings
 On the Meru Mountain
 On the Golden Mountain.

GHUMRA SONGS

I

Woman: O brother Barodiya
 A *kusum* flower is on your head
 We four friends are going to bathe
 What will you pay for us ?
 Man : I will give a hundred and sixty
 For that dark and lovely girl
 But I cannot tell you what I will give
 For the fair one
 And for you, you who are slender
 I will tell you your price
 Your price is named in diamonds.

2

Bhag-bhag flickers the burning wood
 But in your mind keep a never-ending love for me
 I went to find you, but a tree fell across the road
 Girl, you had gone to wander through the village
 And a cat broke down your hearth
 Girl, you were weeding in the maize garden
 I followed you but you did not look at me
 Take off your cloth and necklace
 Let us tie them in a bundle
 And we will run away together.

3

In the Kunjban the *sarson* is in flower
 O lovely girl, you have been in tears
 Since dawn and now the sun goes down
 How dirty was the water of the river
 A potter's wife was taken by a dancing boy
 My fair love, look at the falling rain
 How dark the rain has made it
 I signed to you with my eyes
 But you did not understand
 The rain is falling *jhimir-jhimir*
 By what door shall we go ?
 If our old man catches us he will beat us hard
 Let us sleep in the corner by the door
 Look, don't follow me about as if you were a bee
 I am a girl of another Raj
 If anyone insults me I will cut a stick
 And beat him till he falls two-and-a-half hands down;

4

You are sitting below the bean vine
 Let us go and get sugar and parched rice
 Girl, today you were husking rice
 And one of your legs is covered with chaff
 One day I will load you with a heavy burden
 Girl, where did you sleep today with a pestle?
 There is chaff all over your head and ears.
 Tell me in what land is your home.

5

Tell me truly where it is
 You ride on a red horse
 You are twelve or thirteen years old
 On your head is a golden garland
 The horse is neighing
 It gallops ahead
 I cannot see how beautiful it is
 A sword is swinging at your waist
 Tell me truly where your home is.

6

The stream is the water of Ganges
 The banks are clean
 The stones are red beads
 Rubbing your body
 Cleaning your ornaments
 How pretty you've made yourself
 Girl, have you got a husband?
 Boy, you are very forward
 There is no one so forward as you
 But come boy and sit on my lap
 I will not be angry with you.

I have been able to record only a few marriage songs, but I was told that all the songs are used indifferently at a marriage according to the dances that are performed. I give a few that are regarded as specially suitable.

I

Crow and koel I pray for this village
 The twelve Bhuitar are sitting by
 With a hundred thousand Johar
 I have invited them, crow and koel.
 They have come like chaprasis
 They have carried our girl away
 Tomorrow mothers and sisters
 Will scatter to their homes
 Crow and koel.

2

Bride and groom are sitting together
 In the four doors
 The golden lamps are burning
 On the yoke of a plough
 The two are sitting
 If her husband is old
 The maiden weeps
 If her husband is young
 She laughs.

3

Your feet are arches
 Your knees are stones
 Your waist is a plantain
 Your belly is a *ghumra* drum
 Your back is a grindstone
 Your breasts are the two flaps of a door
 On your hands we tie mango leaves
 Your ears are *siāri* leaves
 Your nose is a hornet's nest
 Your nostrils are the two doors of its nest
 Your eyes are the stars at night
 Your teeth are a mattock
 Yet your father is giving you a good home
 Your old mother-in-law has enormous feet
 She fills her belly like a dog
 Yet your father is giving you a good home
 You used to clean your teeth
 And wash your face in the Samuka River
 Now your father is giving you a good home.

Juang youths sing a number of songs called Dhangri Rasa. These are intended to satirize feminine habits and desires and to 'please girls so that they will do whatever you want.' I give a few examples below —

I

O Daibo, why did you make me a girl?
 When I was in my father's house
 I knew nothing of the world
 Now my husband's sister mocks me
 My husband is a widow's son
 He does not love me
 O Daibo, why did you make me a girl?

2

Don't stand out there in the heat
 Come here girl come quickly
 Don't wait there even a little
 Come here girl come quickly

What is that flower in your hand ?
 What have you got on your hip ?
 You are pressing something under your arm,
 Show it to me for a moment
 Come here girl come quickly
 Why are you going away, girl
 My eyes are fixed on you
 When I go home I will take you with me
 Come here girl come quickly
 Why are you going away girl
 Girl you are very lovely
 My life will leave me for you
 Come here girl come quickly.

The Juang call riddles Dhengo. I have not discovered any ceremonial use of them ; they appear to be put and answered purely for amusement. I am not sure how far they are an integral part of Juang culture; they are usually asked in Oriya and not in Juang; many of them resemble riddles used in other parts of India; many of them have the marks of bazaar India rather than of the ancient hills.

For example, many Juang riddles have the quick staccato beat reaching a climax in a sort of rhyme that may be found in Chasa, Ganda or Panka riddles from Cuttack to Nagpur. Thus—

Mundo mundo gute mundo bārātan godo ;
 Head head one head twelve feet.

That is a *sikka*, the arrangement of cords by which a load is slung on either end of a pole. And again—

Patro suru suru tar nam gathiya guru;
 Leaves small small, its name is Gathiya Guru.

I will however give a selection of these riddles for even if they are new to the Juang they are now used and enjoyed by the tribe and this gives us some hint of the people's taste and how they have learnt to think.

I

A man has two feet.

A bird has two feet.

What else has two feet ?

Tongs.

II

The mother shakes her thin branches :

The daughter is beautiful.

Chilli.

III

There stands the elephant.

Into its vent the flies go one by one.

Village dormitory.

IV

By slapping the dead she-goat you assemble
 the girls.

The *chāng* hide-gong.

V

All the hill is burnt,
But the peahen's eggs are safe.

Stones.

VI

The fruit swings *ludung-ladang* :
If you prick it you will be pricked.

Bhoir fruit.

VII

An old woman has three breasts.

A hearth.

VIII

An old woman has four breasts.

A square basket.

IX

At night they wander everywhere.
They go nowhere by day.
What Gaur grazes them that there is no
dung ?

The stars.

X

There is a sort of hole in the middle.
At night it has lots of fun.
Here men's loins get their fodder.
The stick goes in and brings out light.

A lamp.

XI

In a corner of the house there is a rice-husker.
It husks the grain *lusur-lasar*
And someone pushes the rice into the hole. The mouth, teeth
and tongue.

XII

It goes slowly *rikti-rikti*
And eats unhusked rice.

A sickle.

XIII

They wander across the hills
And leave a fine stick behind.

Footprints.

XIV

The thread of the Raja's house never breaks. A line of ants.

XV

When it is dry, it stands up stiff
But when it is wet, it shakes to and fro.

An earthen pot.

XVI

Water comes from a stone.

Sweat.

XVII

It comes, it goes :
Who can know its way ?

The sun.

XVIII

A thorn goes through seven layers.

A leaf-plate.

XIX

Rolled up all day, flat during the night.

A mat.

XX

It was born with a hat on its head
In Krishna's day the Gopi girls loved it
In Rama's day it killed Rawan
Today we eat it as a vegetable.

A bamboo shoot.

XXI

Round is the vine leaf
Seven rupees are in the fruit.

Fruit of the *baubhinia*
vahlia creeper.

XXII

Shut up on all its seven sides.

Maize.

XXIII

The crooked broom shakes
Down falls the *jāmun* fruit.

A goat's tail and its
excreta.

XXIV

The flies buzz in the elephant's belly.

A house.

XXV

The tree is bitter, the leaves are good to eat,
the flowers bloom divinely.

The *munga* tree.

XXVI

The chick falls from above
There is a hole in its organ.

The *bassia latifolia*
flower.

XXVII

Tall is the tree, its leaves are round
Lovely as Krishna are its flowers
Its fruit is black.

The *butea frondosa* tree.

XXVIII

Four brothers have four wheat-cakes
Each eats two of them.

A cot.

IV

FRIENDSHIPS

Aboriginals are affectionate people, but they are not very good at friendships. Small groups of men, thrown together by natural proximity, spend a good deal of time together and drink together. Women naturally associate in gossip groups. But it is rare to find

two men or two women forming those deep and lasting friendships so common in the advanced cultures, where ideas and tastes are shared and each feels lost without the other's company. On the other hand most aboriginals, and the Juang among them, have the custom of making ceremonial friendships. These are really alliances rather than friendships in the ordinary sense. Both men and women form them, nearly always with members of the own sex. There is a little ceremony of initiation and afterwards neither party may take the other's ordinary name. In theory at last these covenants are life-long.

Among the Juang these covenants take two forms. There are the 'flower-friendships' of the young men and women and there are the more serious alliances of the elders.

'Flower-friendships' are formed between boys and girls and often lead to sexual intimacy and even to marriage. They are generally made between members of different villages at the end of dancing expeditions. They do not appear usually to take the names of different kinds of flowers; they make garlands, throw them round each other's necks and say '*Johār, Phulo.*' But boys also make friendships with other boys and girls with girls.

Elder people—and younger ones also—establish the Maitra friendship when two of them have the same name. The Makro covenant is made on Makarsankrant festival, when grains of rice and a *tulsi* leaf are exchanged. The Jamdar is made on the same day, but *jāmun* twigs are exchanged instead. Perhaps most common is the Sangat. One of my assistants, Gulabdas, made a Sangat alliance with Phakiro Juang of Kariapani, for like other aboriginals the Juang commonly enter on these friendships with members of other communities. They coudunged a small patch in front of the Darbar club, put a little rice in a dish with two *tulsi* leaves and two coconuts. Gulabdas and Phakiro stood facing one another. They exchanged the coconuts three times and each put two grains of rice and a *tulsi* leaf into the other's mouth. They said '*Johār, Sangat,*' embraced each other and saluted the friends present. The children of a Sangat regard the other partner as *dada* and salute him. Then Phakiro said, 'Brothers, listen and understand. Today we two have made Sangat. From today let there be no anger between us. Let the heart of each be spotless. Let the love between us remain for seven ages. Whether we live or die we will remain friends.'

V

MARRIAGE

Among the Juang as with all people who maintain a dormitory system, marriage is generally adult. Table Four shows only 3 boys and 7 girls out of 100 who were married in childhood, that is at the age of 12 and under. The majority of boys (74%) were married between 16 and 20; the majority of the girls (81%) between 14 and

16. The tendency of the aboriginal is to under-estimate ages and probably the larger number of marriages occurred when the boys were approaching 18 and the girls 15-16.

TABLE FOUR

Ages at marriage in 100 cases		
Age at marriage	No. of boys	No. of girls
3	....	1
7	....	1
8	....	1
9	1	..
10	2	2
11	....	1
12	....	1
13	1	8
14	2	27
15	....	25
16	27	29
17	4	4
18	10	....
19	4	....
20	29	....
21 and over	20	....

The earliest account we have of a Juang wedding is by Samuells (1857) and I quote it because it was written so long ago.

Marriages are arranged by the parents of the parties and are scenes of revelry and drunkenness. On these occasions all the members of the tribe within a reasonable distance assemble at the bride's house and escort her with music, and dancing to the house of the bridegroom, where the women wash her feet in water tinged with turmeric, after which the elders of the community perform the marriage ceremony. This consists, apparently, in each elder laying his hands in succession upon the heads of the bridal pair and in tying their thumbs together with a thread. A grand feast ensues, in which the men and women eat apart from each other, and the night is afterwards spent in dancing and drinking. The festivities continue for three days. If the first wife prove unfruitful, the husband is at liberty to take another, otherwise they adhere to one wife. The husband, we remarked, has the same objection to mention his wife's name, that is observable amongst the Hindus. Not being aware of the relationship of Kumlee to Mootee Pudhan, we asked the latter, what her name was, and could not account for

his embarrassed look until we learnt from another Puttooa, that she was his wife.'¹

Among Juang the majority of marriages appear to be of the regular, arranged, type. In the 100 marriages examined the following facts emerged.

TABLE FIVE

Kinds of marriages in 100 cases						
Dhari-para	..	..	..	..	..	23
Paitu	..	..	..	..	..	4
Gharjamai	..	..	..	..	..	4
Regular (Mana Mani Bahai)	..	..	..	..	..	69
Widowers marrying elder brother's widow	..	..	..	..	..	5
Widowers marrying wife's younger sister	..	..	..	..	..	10
Marriages with girls of same village	..	..	..	..	..	23
Marriages with girls of different villages	..	..	..	..	..	77
Marriages with mother's brother's daughter	..	..	..	..	..	52

The oldest type of Juang marriage is probably that known as Dhari-para, where a boy ceremonially kidnaps his 'flower-friend' from another village and marries her by a very simple rite. As we see in another section, Juang youths of the Darbar pay regular visits of a semi-ceremonial character to neighbouring villages, the members of which stand in the *bandhu* relationship to theirs. At such times the boys of the village visited go away on a similar expedition elsewhere, and the girls entertain their visitors and dance with them. Boys and girls fall in love with one another and form 'flower-friendships.' After a time the girls return the visit and friendship soon ripens into intimacy. The flower-friendship appears to have all the effect of a formal engagement and where a boy and girl are known to have entered into such a covenant the other boys and girls respect it. The lovers exchange gifts and get to know each other well, until at last the boy tells his companions that he wants to marry the girl. The party goes to the girl's village and when the girls come out to greet them the boy catches hold of his girl and runs back to his own village with her.

She goes willingly enough and when they reach the boundary, she waits while the boy goes to fetch his sister or any other woman of the family except his mother. She comes and leads the girl to the house. Bride and bridegroom are anointed, but not very lavishly, with turmeric. Relations and friends are called to feast. Boys and girls begin the marriage dances. Before going to dance at a marriage the boys worship their drums in the Darbar. As they go out the Dihuri passes his hand over the head of each boy from the front to the back and repeats a spell for his protection. The ceremony is of the simplest, and was probably in former days

¹ Samuells, op. cit., p. 300f.

simpler than it is now. Elements from the other types of marriage are always creeping in—boy and girl may be made to sit on the yoke of a plough, perhaps their clothes are tied together, there may be the gift of a ring, friends and relatives come to put a mark on their foreheads, and so on.

There is apparently no bride-price payable at this stage of the proceedings; this is paid at the birth of the first child. There is also a rule, rather loosely kept, that the marriage should not be consummated until the bride has proved that she is not pregnant by passing through a menstrual period in her husband's house.

The Ghicha marriage is an advance on the simplicity of the Dhari-para. The boy establishes a preliminary betrothal through the flower-friendship during a visit to another village. But then he tells his parents about it and they send messengers (here called *kondra*) to interview the girl's people and arrange a formal betrothal. I will describe the method of the betrothal under the heading of the Mana Mani Bahai, or fully ceremonial marriage, immediately.

The girl's people are bound to agree—there is always a great deal of trouble if they do not—and the usual business arrangements are completed. Then the boy takes a party of his friends to the girl's village. One of them goes secretly and tells the girl's parents that they have come. They send their daughter with some of her friends to get water or bring leaves and directly they enter the forest, the bridegroom seizes his girl and carries her off. Her friends try to stop him, but his friends come out to help and there is a mock-battle. The girls run home crying that a tiger has carried off the girl and her relatives take sticks and bows and arrows and go out to look for her.

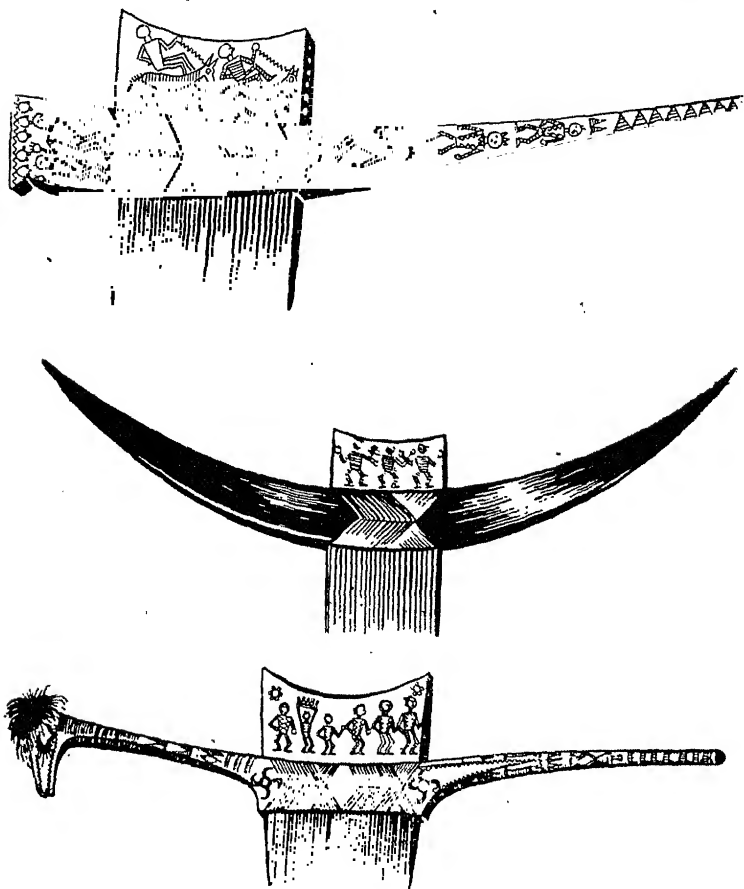
A woman of the boy's house takes the girl home and the pair are anointed with haldi. There is the usual feasting and dancing. Sometimes bride and groom are made to stand on a yoke in front of their house, and women of the boy's house pour haldi water over their heads and girls throw mud at them.

The feasting is no light matter. A proverb that, 'There are seven hundred karanga fish for nine hundred cats: how are we to divide them?' is used when there is not enough food for the crowd of guests who assemble when they hear the noise of the drums. Another proverb of the same kind says, 'There are many cows and only a handful of hay.'

Should the girl who is caught refuse to marry her 'flower-friend,' it is a convention that no one else should marry her. Once a girl went from Bali to Hunda to dance at the Duro Jatra and a boy of Ladam captured her for marriage. She escaped, and no one else would marry her. After three years she gave in and her parents sent her to Ladam.

The Mana Mani Bahai is a much more elaborate, expensive and protracted type of marriage. It is, I think, the most common type among the modern Juang who in this differ not only from their ancestors but also from their neighbours the Bhuiya.

The first move in the elaborate negotiations is for the boy's parents to go and have a look at the girl proposed. They say to each other, 'Will she be good for our boy?' Then on a Friday they crowd their house, make a pattern on the ground with turmeric and the boy's own father takes the omens by grain-divination, asking, 'Will their whole lives move together or no?' It is most important that attention should be paid to these omens. In



Juang combs

Korguda (Dhenkanal) the Padhan examined three piles of rice for his son's marriage. One was unfavourable, but he decided under strong pressure from his wife (who threatened to leave him if he abandoned the marriage) to go ahead. Within a year his son died.

A week later, if all is well, the father sends two men called *kondra* to the girl's house with food presents. At this and later

visits it is essential to watch the omens on the way. It is good to see or hear a tiger, a deer, a cow, a snake, a crow, a woman carrying a full pot, to hear anyone weeping or the cry of a peacock. But it is unlucky to see a bear, a vulture flying up into the air, to hear a monkey chatter, to see a corpse or anyone throwing away ashes, to hear someone sneeze, to see a girl carrying an empty pot or a girl in her menstrual period or a tree falling or a man excreting. The jackal and the kiddari bird are both unlucky. If any really bad omen occurs the *kondra* must postpone their visit to another day.

When the *kondra* messengers reach the girl's village they go straight to the Darbar and sit down there. The village elders come and ask them, 'Brothers, why have you come?' 'O there is nothing,' they reply. 'We had no road or plan; we were just going on a journey.' Then everyone knows that an engagement is proposed. The next morning the messengers put their food-presents in the Darbar and say to the Padhan, 'Brother, we have left our pipes and our sticks in the Darbar; we are going home now—we will return in a few days.' And they go away without visiting the girl's house or seeing her people.

The next time three ambassadors come and stay in the Darbar as before. But now they say to the Padhan, 'Last time we came we did not recognize our *bandhu*.'

'But who are your *bandhu*?' asks the Padhan. 'Tell us and I will take you to them.'

The *kondra* tell him and he takes them to the house. There the regular formula is repeated. 'Why have you come, friends, to our village?' ask the girl's parents.

'We are merchants travelling in search of a fine cucumber which we hear is growing in your house.'

'But merchants are rich people and we are afraid of them. Please go elsewhere.'

'We have not come to buy pots and dishes. We only seek the beautiful cucumber that is growing in your house.'

Then, if the girl's parents are willing, they agree to sell, and the boy's messengers put a stick in the girl's house saying, 'See, this stick is for our cucumber. Let the creeper cling to this and do not give it to another.'

Sometimes, however, the *bandhu* refuse to give a clear answer then, and in this case the *kondra* go away and return again later; this time four of them come and they refuse to depart without an answer. If he is willing the girl's father says, 'I will give her. Go now and in fifteen days come to take the girl.'

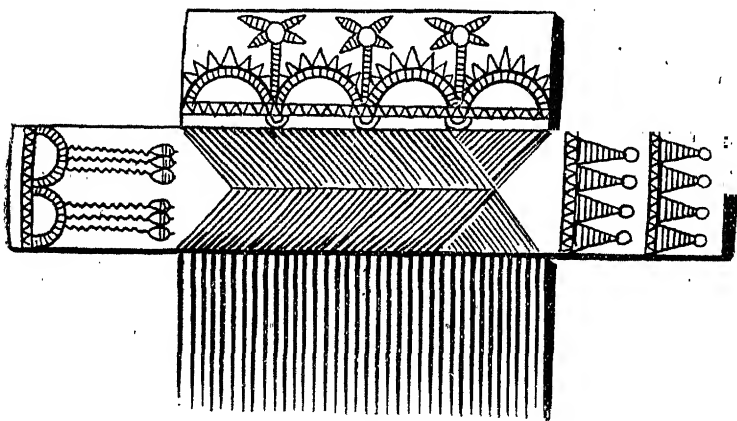
In Dhenkanal the Juang seem to prefer a symbolism of water in asking for the bride. The messengers say, 'We are very thirsty and have come seeking for water.' If the girl's parents are unwilling, they say, 'Where can we get water in this dry land? Go and search where there are good streams and rivers.'

Then after fifteen days, the boy's father and his companions go

with the marriage gifts and bride-price. The amount varies endlessly but it should include rice, pulses, a new pot, salt, chilly, cloth of at least twelve hands long, liquor and a cock. The amount to be paid in cash varies from a few rupees to twenty or thirty.

Sometimes the boy's father and the girl's father test the omens together. They make a sort of gruel, set it boiling, and the two men plunge their hands into it together. If they are not scalded, means all be well.

The girl's father and relatives come with the village elders to measure the gifts and see if they are sufficient. They cook a little in the Darbar and all eat together. Then they go to the girl's house and there the girl's father washes the feet of his visitors and makes them sit on a new mat. After they have discussed everything, the bride, dressed in new leaves and bathed, is brought out and made to stand before them. Her father, says, 'Look, *bandhu*, we give you this girl. Today you have a new daughter-in-law. Whether she squints she is yours, whether she is lame, she is yours, whether she is dirty, deaf, mad, a hunchback, she is yours.' And they answer, 'Whatever she may be, she is ours.'



Juang comb

Then the villagers of the girls' village and her relatives, but not her parents, go with her to the boy's village. Girls and boys come out to greet them, dancing and singing, and they bring the girl in and make her sit with the bridegroom on a new mat before their house.

But before this, while the *kondra* have been away in the girl's village making arrangements and preparing to bring her, the bridegroom has been out in the jungle with his Darbar companions. He stands under an elephant creeper and offers it a pinch of powdered turmeric saying, 'O Pathar Sahoroni, if this girl is really going to come, give us a leaf'. If all is well, it is believed that a leaf will fall

of its own accord. He cooks some rice in a new pot and eats off the lucky leaf that fell. After eating he turns the pot upside down and throws rice and turmeric round it saying, 'Of two houses let there now be one.' And with a single blow he cuts the creeper. If as the tree falls they hear the sound of monkey or tiger, it is considered very lucky. But if they hear the cry of any other bird or animal, they expect that the girl will run away or die.

In a sense it is not possible to give an outline of a Juang marriage. There is no book of rules, no fixed programme. The course of events varies according to the economic condition of the family, the proximity of Hindu influence, the directions of the Dihuri and Rau-uria. But most marriages include the following elements—

The greeting of the bride by the boy's mother and sisters. The mother takes her in her arms and makes her sit with her son on a new mat before the house. She and the other relatives make a ceremonial mark on their foreheads and the women say,

Look, children, live well together. Be not guided by bad friends.

Depend on your own joint labour for your living. Girl, follow, your husband to the jungle. Help him in digging up roots.

Unmarried girls take the bride and unmarried boys the bridegroom to bathe. New leaves are picked and worshipped and the girl is dressed in them. Sometimes the bride fetches water and bathes her husband's face.

The bride and bridegroom must sit and eat together; the boy puts a handful of food on the girl's plate and she puts a handful on his.

Relatives and friends come for a ceremonial greeting. For this bride and groom are made to sit on a yoke. Sometimes in front of them they put seven *siari* leaves and on these a digging-stick to represent the digging-stick of Pathar Saharoni.

Bride and groom are knotted together in the name of Rusi and Pathar Saharoni. Should this knot come undone, it is considered very unlucky.

Dancing and feasting continues for two or three days. During this time the groom must sleep in the Darbar and the girl with the unmarried girls.

After the regular marriage ritual is completed, there are two more important events. The first is a ceremonial visit to the bride's home that is known as Chouti, the second is the ceremonial consummation of the marriage.

All this time bride and bridegroom must sleep apart. Four days after the marriage, bride and groom with two *kondra* messengers go to salute the bride's parents who have played no part in the marriage ceremony and have not even been present at it. They make a lot of wheat cakes and give one to any Juang they meet on the way. A boy goes ahead bearing the food, rice and liquor, the bride follows with a stick in her hand, then comes

the bridegroom with a bow and arrow and finally goes an old woman. When they reach the bride's home, the family goes in and shuts the door. Bride and groom each throw a wheat cake into the house and the door is opened. The boy salutes his parents-in-law and gives them the rice and liquor. There is a feast and more dancing. The girl sleeps with the parents, but the boy must go to the Darbar and sleep there. After three days they return home.

The girl leaves all her ornaments behind when she marries, and at this time she distributes them and other little presents to her sisters.

When the couple return back from this ceremonial visit, they make a small hut for themselves in the parents' compound. 'If the girl has a new man, she must have a new house.' The boy's mother however, goes on doing the cooking until she has no more strength and the bride is not admitted to the kitchen. But at last when the mother wearies, she gets a new pot, puts half a seer of rice in it with water, allows the girl to cook and then makes her stand beside her. The mother says, 'O Dharam Deota, Basuki Mata, Pata, Pathar Saharoni, today I give my daughter-in-law the right to cook. From cooking a handful may the pot be filled; from half a seer may there be much; whoever comes to eat, may they have their fill.' Then the daughter-in-law cooks and he and her husband eat; then she cooks again and feeds her parents-in-law and three or four of the neighbours.

As I have said, throughout the tedious and protracted ceremonies of the marriage bride and bridegroom must sleep apart. This is the rule in whatever form of marriage is celebrated. The delay is probably connected with the desire to prove the girl by allowing her to pass a menstrual period and thus prove that she is not pregnant by another man.¹

The consummation of the marriage is a serious and ceremonial affair. It marks the passage of the boy from dormitory to domestic life. It has nothing to do with an initiation into sexual knowledge, for both husband and wife learnt all about that long before. In many cases, however, the consummation is the first time they themselves approach each other.

When the day for the consummation arrives, the old women prepare a little room, sometimes they make a special leaf-hut. They put a new mat on the ground. They sacrifice a fowl and the groom says, 'We are going to sin; forgive us.' The boy gives a

¹ A fantastic story from Bali connects the delay with the need to make sure whether the bride really is a girl. 'Two Juang promised to marry their children. Both had sons. One dressed his son as a girl and married him. After marriage the "girl" avoided "her" husband and lay with all his female relatives in turn. At last they sent him home, but forced her father-in-law to carry him on his shoulder and he pushed his penis into the man's ear. When he got home he said, "I've had my husband and all my relatives and I've put my penis in the ear of my father-in-law." So now we wait to see if the bride is man or woman.'

farewell feast to the other boys ; he should give, they told us in Bali, forty *sarai* leaves, a bottle of liquor, ten leaves of tobacco, a gourd of water, and a big meal of at least five seers of rice. The boy must weep saying, 'To-day our old friendship is broken.'

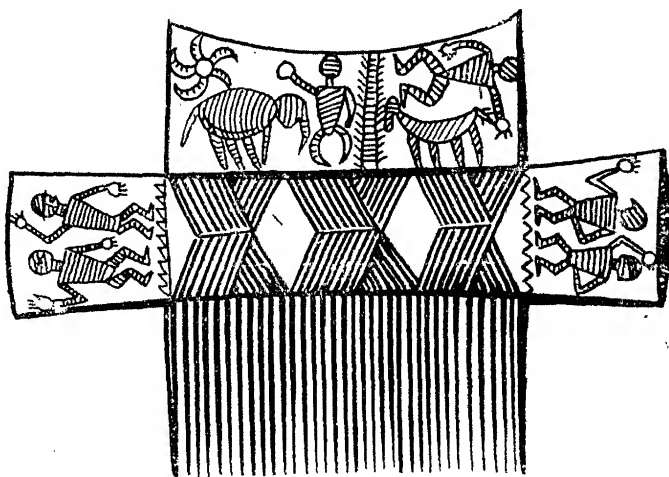
When it is time to sleep the boy goes as usual to the Darbar, but the others abuse him saying, 'Your house is ready; what do you want here?' If the boy is shy or pretends to be, they tie him up and carry him to the hut ; otherwise they go with him, pushing him along and singing obscene songs. Old women have already taken the girl there and made her sit on the new mat. The boys push the young husband in and make him sit down beside his girl. Then the girl's younger brother or someone in a joking relationship says,

See, here is your new home. You used to sleep with us, the companions of your youth, but now you have left us. Look well to your home. Care for your mother and sister.

And a little later he says again,

Look boy ! Here is a new girl. Whether her breasts are small as lemons or whether like mangoes they are large and firm hold them well. Enjoy her throughout the night. But do not relieve yourself inside the house.

At that some of the boys piss inside the house; they run out and tie up the door carefully, throwing a lot of rubbish and dirt



Juang comb

inside. They sing and dance the Duriya dance, blackening their bodies with soot and singing very obscenely. It is said that on this night a girl has entire freedom with her husband's younger brother and a grand-father with his grand-daughter. The husband and wife get up and clean the house. But just as they are about to sleep together on the new mat, the boys throw chillies into their

fire, or they make a stinking pipe from the bark of the bhajarbhani tree and puff its smoke into the hut. This is a test. If husband and wife can stand the dirt, the stink, the abuse and laughter and not run out of the hut, it is expected that the marriage will be successful: otherwise there will be a divorce.

The next morning, the boy goes to the Darbar as usual. The boys there greet him riotously. 'Away with you, sinner.' The boy says, 'O I'm a sinner am I? I suppose you people have never done it.' After a lot of ragging, they let him sit with them.

I will give a few actual reminiscences of this exciting moment in any man's life. Rajno of Khajuria recalled how,

My wife and I were of the same age. After our marriage the boys made us sleep together. I gave them presents and said, 'From today our union is broken. Forgive me my faults. Now I have made a house.' At the time of sleeping they put a hoe at my wife's feet and said, 'Here is your child.' They put an axe at my feet and said, 'Here is your son' and laughed saying, 'Look you've got a girl who is already pregnant. Look after your son properly and keep your house clean if you can.' The boys then pissed on our new mat and threw a lot of dirt into the house. They shut the door and piled thorns in front of it, and ran away. We cleared the place up and slept.

Bangru of Nawagaon similarly described how, 'I was a Gharjawai for two years and my parents gave twelve rupees for my wife as well. After the marriage the youths made us lie together. I gave them a seer of bread and a mat. I and my wife were greatly in love with each other. The youths threw a lot of rubbish into our hut and pissed all round it. They put a stone at my feet saying, "Here's your son" and a bit of wood at my wife's feet saying, "Here's your daughter. Look after your children well; feed them with your milk." But other boys said, "How did she get a child so quickly? Did you fill her belly before the marriage?" They threw five chillies into the fire, but I did not run away nor did she, and so we still live together happily and I have never taken a second wife.'

Juang marriages appear to be unusually successful. In 100 cases examined only 2 had failed: in one case a woman much older than her husband left him, in the other the wife fell in love with another man and eloped with him to the Tea Gardens.

TABLE SIX

Marriage conditions in 100 cases			
Living with married wife	..	..	80
Widowers ..	..	..	18
Separated ..	..	..	2
Polygamous marriages	..	..	2

The actual ceremony of divorce, which is rarely practiced, is very simple. The elders assemble and the Bhaitar sets out five sarai leaves in the name of the twelve Bhuitar and twelve Bhuitarni; on each he places a small leaf-cup of liquor, and the husband there salutes everyone. The elders say, 'This house is now broken. Let there be no more quarrels. May you eat well and live well.' The husband often has to pay a fine to the elders.

For re-marriage, the new husband has to repay the bride-price to the old. The ceremony is simple, like a widow-marriage—a little haldi, a ceremonial salutation, a dance and a feast. When a widower marries a widow, this is all that is done. But if he marries an unmarried girl, a full ceremony is performed. For a widow a man must give half the bride-price to the parents-in-law or to the dead husband's younger brother.

Polygamy does not seem to be very common among the Juang. In the 100 marriages examined, in only 2 cases had there been any serious attempt at a plural establishment. A number of examples, however, were recorded from outside these 100 cases.

On the whole, the attitude is one of mild disapproval, for it is believed that it is very difficult to make such an arrangement work and that therefore it is not likely to bring happiness to anyone. On the other hand, it is recognized that it is sometimes necessary when the first wife is barren or bears only girls. The following story illustrates this attitude:

In Samor lived a Juang called Biran. He had a wife who only bore girl babies. In order to get a son he married another girl and soon this one had a son. This led to quarrels between the two wives and one day the younger said, 'How can your daughters feed us? Will they do the Raja's begar? Will they offer sacrifice? It is my son who will see to everything.' Hearing this the elder wife was so angry that she hanged herself. For this reason we do not keep two wives at a time.

Another reason given is that few men are strong enough to satisfy one woman, let alone two. 'For one hearth there's not enough fire-wood; how can you get the wood for two?' The Juang, unlike the Baiga, seem to have a belief that frequent intercourse is bad for one. It whitens the hair and leads to early death. 'You must go to her only once a week; you will die if you go daily,' said a Juang of Bali.

There is apparently a technique of handling two wives successfully. Rajo of Saplanji was one of those who made a success of it. He used to sleep with the elder for a week and then with the younger for a week. The essence of the matter seems to be 'sleeping.' A Juang in Binjwal village made two separate rooms and put one wife in each; he would spend six whole months with one and then change and spend six months with the other.

Budhwa the Dihuri of Kordagi was a more adventurous polygamist. His father had four wives and among the boy's earliest

recollections were the quarrels between them. 'One day when my mother was quarrelling with her co-wives, my father beat her very much and she ran away to her mother's house, leaving me behind. The youngest wife looked after me then.' Budhwa's father had not even his son's excuse that his wives bore him no sons. He had three daughters and a son from the eldest wife, three daughters and three sons from the second, two daughters from the third, and it was the fourth who was barren. His elder brother died as a result of the hunger caused by the stopping of axe-cultivation, and Budhwa married his widow. She was older than him, and after bearing him two daughters became a little elderly for his taste. She herself arranged a new wife for him, but this wife also only bore daughters. He married therefore a third and a fourth wife. He himself described his experiences.

When my first wife got old she said to me, 'Make me a separate house. Don't come near me. You look after the younger girls.' So she spends most of her time with her son who was born to her from my elder brother. I live with the three younger wives. The first looks after the affairs of the house, the second cooks and the third brings water and works in the fields. The first looks after the children of the others and they are all very happy together for I keep them content. I go to each of them every day. I sleep on a cot and they lie on mats round me. Every week I go to see my eldest wife who is living apart; I do not lie with her; it is her wish and not mine. But I lie most often with the youngest girl; she has born me a son.

The institution of the Gharjamai is regarded by the Juang as very ancient, for there are many references to it in their mythology, but to-day it is far from common. In the 100 cases of marriage examined only 4 were of this type. The Gharjamai, called elsewhere in India Lamsena or Lamhada, is among the Juang mainly a means of adopting a son where there is no boy in the family. A Gharjamai, is not usually kept in a house where there are sons. The arrangement is that the boy serves for the girl of the house for a number of years, five or seven according to circumstances, marries her and continues to live in the house of his parents-in-law, attaining to the position of an adopted son and inheriting the property after his father-in-law's death.

When a Juang proposes to keep a Gharjamai he gives a feast to the Bara Bhai, the twelve brothers, who represent the panchayat. In front of them all he says,

'For this girl I will take nothing more, no money and no grain.

'This boy will look after me all my life, and after my death all that I have will be his.'

The boy then comes to reside with the family. During his probation period, before marriage, he must not even look at the girl and she avoids meeting him or being left alone in a room with him.

He must never dance with her. He is at liberty to have affairs with other girls, for he sleeps in the boy's dormitory and shares the sexual adventures of the other youths. The girl too sleeps in the girl's dormitory and can have affairs with other boys. But should she become pregnant by another boy and the Gharjamai objects, the panchayat is assembled and the girl's father says, 'I bought this boy, it is true; I do not know what to do; you all do what is right.' They usually fine the culprit; the figure I was given was 24 rupees, of which 12 rupees is given to the Gharjamai as compensation and the rest is spent in a feast for the panchayat.

The Padan of Kordagi had only daughters; so he kept a Gharjamai for his eldest daughter. Then a son was born in the house and the Gharjamai had to live separately, though he still worked and received his food. At Samor, Koriya had two daughters and no son. He married the elder girl in the ordinary way and kept a Gharjamai for the younger. When the parents died, the Gharjamai became master of the house.

VI

DEATH

The Juang have an unusual number of legends to account for the existence of death, a fact that seems to indicate that they have given much thought to its tragedy and deprivation. Their ideas about the future life, so far as I could discover them, are scanty enough; except under Hindu influence they have no idea of re-birth; a few particularly troublesome ghosts are elevated to a sort of godhead—the kind of dignity that a robber chief might acquire, others wander sad and frustrated round their former homes, others go to Mahapurub and enjoy a life of happiness with him in the Upper World. A pathetic tale from Tambur in Pal Lahara suggests a contrast between that world and this.

An old man and woman had seven sons and one grandson. In those days no one ever died. Mahapurub thought in his mind, 'None die; what shall I do?' Now everyone in that family loved the little grandson. 'If he was not with us, how wretched we would be.' But Mahapurub called the mother of his mother and said to her, 'That old man and woman have a grandson. Bring him here; I want to play with him.' She said, 'But how can a little child come such a long way?' But she dressed in tattered clothes and leaning on a stick hobbled along to the house and said to one of the sons, 'Where has your mother gone? You must certainly give me something.' When she saw the grandson, she felt pity on him for his beauty and because they all loved him. 'I won't take him', she said, 'or they'll all die of weeping.' She returned and told Mahapurub, 'They look on him as their very life; how could I bring him?'

But Mahapurub was angry and drove her away. 'You

must bring him', he said. This time the grandmother took the form of a black cow and she caught the boy as he was playing and killed him on her horns. They wept and threw the body away. Then the grandmother took her own form again and carried the child to Mahapurub and he restored him to life. But on earth the family wept and wept and found no comfort. 'I have done a great wrong,' thought the old grandmother. She carried the child back to the place where they had thrown him away. In her own form she went to beg at the house. When she saw them weeping, she asked, 'What is the matter?' When they told her she said, 'Take me to the place and let me see him.' They took her to the place and she made the child alive again and returned to Mahapurub.

But the boy had been very happy with Mahapurub. He had all the food he could eat and there were always games to play. He had no desire to stay on earth. Every day he would say, 'I must go back to Mahapurub.' In the end they had to keep him tied up in order to stop him going away. Then he refused to eat or drink; he only thought of Mahapurub. At last he died and from that day there has been death in the world.

Nearly always death is regarded as due to the jealousy or deceit of the Supreme Being. In one legend it was when he sent sleep that death came to the world.

At first no one died. An old man was counting grains of oil-seed during the night. There was no sleep in those days. The old man used to spend all night counting oil-seeds. He spent all day counting oil-seeds. He even forgot to eat. Then Mahapurub sent a Rawatin to sell curds. The curds had sleep-medicine in them. The old man bought the curds, mixed them with rice. After he had eaten, sleep came to him and he died.

A curious variant associates death with the tradition that originally men had hairs growing out of their tongues.

Of old the tongue had growing from it a hair twelve hands long. One day it wearied and cried, 'O if only I could die!' It died and after that death filled the world.

A tale from Bali recalls the myth of the Sun and Moon swallowing their children.

At first men did not die. In those days Rusi and Rusain had many children. Mahapurub thought, 'Soon there will be no room in the world. How can so many people live in such a small place?' So he sent Jamudeota. Jamudeota went to Rusi and Rusain and said, 'I am great, I am great, I am great, I am great'—that was all he said, nothing more. When Rusi heard it he was angry and said, 'No I am great, for it is I who give birth.' Jamudeota said, 'Well, if you are great, if you give birth, prove you are greater still by eating

your children.' Rusi devoured all his children. 'Now bring them out again,' said Jamudeota. But they were dead, and that is how death came to the world.

A legend of equally undignified deceit comes from Dhenkanal.

In the days before men began to die, there was a Brahmin who lived by begging. One day he got a little rice and *mahua* and was pleased. When he got home he thought, 'How hungry I am! Which shall I cook first?' As he was cooking the *mahua*, a caterpillar came by and asked the Brahmin, 'What are you doing?' The Brahmin said, 'Why are you wasting my time talking when you can see that I am dying of hunger?' The caterpillar said, 'What, do you know what dying is?' 'No, I have never heard of it. What is it? Teach me, brother, and I will then know how to die.' In front of the Brahmin the caterpillar fell into pieces. The Brahmin stood up and tried to do the same. While he was trying hard to break into little bits, the caterpillar came alive and bit him so that he died. Since then all men have died.

Two other stories, from Keonjhar, connect the coming of death with the notion that originally, though men died, they usually came back again to life. There is a similar idea discoverable in the Bastar legends.

There was no death at first. Dharam Deota sent Kalpar Rakas to give death to the world. But after men had died and their bodies were thrown out, they used to get up and walk home. So Kalpar Rakas used to catch the bodies and cut their feet. They could not walk home and they remained dead.

Another story describes how,

In the old days men used to die, but they came back to life again. When the people took a man's corpse to bury it, the man would get out of the grave and sit beside it. An old man and woman had no children. When the old man died, the old woman could not dig the grave so she dragged the body to the jungle and threw it away. Mahapurub thought, 'It is those who have relatives who bury their dead; others are only thrown away.' He came to the Middle World and said to the people, 'If you bury the dead they return to life; if you throw them away they become dangerous ghosts (*bhut*) and devour you. If you find such a one returning, burn him and he will trouble you no more.' The people were very frightened and collected a great deal of wood. When the old man came back in the usual way, they thought he was a ghost. They caught him and took him to the pyre and burnt him. That is why we burn the corpses of the dead for fear they may return to life and trouble us.

Each of these stories testifies to what has appealed even to the most advanced nations as the supreme hint of immortality—

the energy and power of the human soul. Death is unnatural; man was made to last for ever; only the most drastic means can conquer his strong and vivacious being. It is no matter for astonishment, therefore, that this energetic soul, once conquered by death, should be essentially dangerous.

The fear that a corpse may rise from the grave and return home has resulted in a very wide distribution of the custom of cremating the dead. When a Juang is about to die, his relatives bring the root of the *sujna* tree and tie it to his throat. They force a few morsels between his teeth believing that if he eats a little he may survive.

After death, the near relatives apply haldi-oil to the corpse, putting rather more on the chest than on other parts of the body. Others go out to collect wood for the pyre, which should be raised under a tree. They usually make a very big pyre—for wood is always available and it is essential that the corpse should be thoroughly burnt—and the older men carry the body out of the village. It is often considered advisable that the younger boys should not go, 'for they may die.' They throw turmeric on the pyre and a copper coin is placed on the mouth of the deceased. There is no fixed rule about who should light the pyre; it may be the father, brother or son of the deceased or any respectable old man. Fire is brought from the house on a stick (this stick is afterwards put in a *sāja* tree, for it may contain the soul of the dead man) and when the pyre is thoroughly alight, the people throw the corpse onto it and then 'run for their lives, not looking round.'

When the people return home they throw away their old cooking-pots and clean the house; on the following day they have a feast at the same hour that the deceased expired. For this feast a *bandhu* relative cooks. Both the house and the village have to be purified. In some villages a hen is offered (it is considered sufficient to offer an egg for younger people), and its blood is sprinkled on a little rice which is then applied to the foreheads of all those who are present. In other villages, a more elaborate rite is prescribed. A small branch of the *sonāri* tree is taken, and on this a notch is made for everyone who went to the funeral. Holy water is prepared with *tulsi* leaves and a copper coin and with the *sonāri* stick this is sprinkled over the house of the deceased and everyone who attended his obsequies.

There does not seem to be any special rule about the subsequent ceremonies. 'We do them when we are ready.' But generally the relatives and neighbours go the following day to the pyre to see whether the corpse has been properly consumed or not. They do not stay while the fire is actually alight, partly because of the fear that as in the old days the corpse may rise from the pyre and partly for a much more rationalistic reason, that there is a bad smell and those who inhale it may suffer infection from the dead. Should any relics of the corpse remain they are collected and burnt. Either on this day or on some later day, the people perform a rite

to keep the ghost from walking.

Four or five of the village elders go to the pyre. Out of the burnt earth they make a little image of the dead man. They find one of the small bones of the skull. They make a sort of bundle of the bone, the image and a branch of a *jamun* tree, tying it round seven times with a hemp cord. They worship this with a *haldi*-root, *arwa*-rice and a copper coin. Then they break the bundle and throw its contents into the nearest stream. Sometimes they thrust the *jamun* twig through the earthen image's stomach. But it is everywhere regarded as essential to throw the bones, the bit of the skull and the earthen doll into water.

After this they bathe in the stream and return home. A relative cuts their hair and sprinkles them with cowdung water or water in which a copper coin has been dipped. They worship the Massan in the doorway of the dead man. They put *arwa*-rice and a copper coin in an earthen pot, tie its mouth with fresh cloth and place it in the doorway of the dead man's house. They sacrifice a chicken saying, 'Come here today and live in our house and help us.' After that they carry the pot into the house.

When the rituals are over, they remove the new cloth and after a number of days equal to the number of days that have preceded the ceremony, they take away the pot and use it for their ordinary work.

To avert the dangers that may arise from extraordinary tragedies, the Juang adopt extraordinary precautions. To be killed by a tiger is an event that has unusual associations. This was how the first Juang boy died; it was by such a sacrifice that the world came into being. The ghost of anyone so killed turns into Baghya Deo, the tiger god, or Ban-Rai, Lord of the jungle. It is essential that suitable ceremonies to lay this angry ghost should be performed. After cremating whatever remains of the corpse, therefore, the Juang go to a *sarai* tree and there make the customary sacrifices by rice-patterns and the offering of fowls. They call on the man by name and when the answer comes 'Hu hu' they wait until some insect comes to eat the rice. Then they catch it, stick a *kassi* thorn through its body and stick it into the *sarai* tree. Round the tree they sprinkle goat's dung, *sirson* oil-seed and iron-slag. This iron they call virgin iron but this is not quite what is meant by virgin iron elsewhere; it is any iron that is locally smelted, by the Komar in their little private kilns. When this has been done the people feast round the tree, but they do not pick up the leaf-plates from which they have eaten. For to do so might bring the Tiger God to their homes.

In Dhenkanal, I was told that after a tiger-death the Dihuri on a Sunday morning while it was still dark went to worship with an egg in his left hand behind the house. There he drove a date-palm thorn and a *kassi* thorn into the ground (these were substitutes for virgin iron) and thus 'shut up the tiger god in its house'.

A tiger's victim is dangerous because of its possible influence

over tigers. Those who die in particular states of life may also bring trouble—and sometimes help—to the living. For example, if a baby dies before it has even taken its mother's milk, the Juang bury it under a *bassia latifolia* tree so that it can enjoy the milky sap. The child becomes a Matia Bhut and comes back to its home to steal rice and to throw its snot into the cooking-pots. To check this the parents offer water once a week below the tree.

In some villages it is supposed that a youth who dies unmarried turns into a whirlwind; others say that he becomes Bhulari Bhauti Deo and entices men away into the forest. If he dies before becoming a member of the dormitory, he turns into Kuara Deo.

These childlike ghosts are kind and helpful; they live with their parents and help them. 'Suppose a father goes somewhere and falls drunk on the ground, the Kuara Deo can save him from wild beasts and spirits.' An unmarried boy should be buried, out in a field, away from trees.

A village priest or headman may be specially dangerous after death. Every house should contribute some rice and a chicken for his ceremonies of appeasement. In Kaptodiha, it was found impossible to fill the post of the village Dango, for every new Dango died, slain by his predecessor's jealousy. On the other hand, there is a idea—I do not know how widely it is held—that when the elder of a house dies, he does not become a *bhut*, but returns to his home and is reborn there. 'We take his name every time we worship; how could he become a *bhut*?' When such a man dies, the people throw grain over his bier all along the way to the pyre so that the soul may find its way back to the house. They make a small image of grain so that when the soul sees it, it will take human shape and not that of an animal. When the elder finally makes up its mind to be reborn, it sends a dream saying, 'Formerly she was my daughter-in-law; now she will be my mother. Be careful; do not abuse her, do not give her too much work.' That is why, it is said, the Juang are very attentive to pregnant women.

After the death of a woman who is in her menstrual period, who is pregnant, who has just been delivered of a child or who died in actual childbirth, or after a death from small-pox, the corpse is buried. As in other parts of India peculiar precautions are taken against the ghost of a woman who dies frustrated or unclean. The customs differ from village to village and from time to time; as so often happens the Rau-uria depends on immediate inspiration rather than on fixed tradition.

When a pregnant woman dies, according to a Keonjhar account, she becomes a Patar-sunni Bhut which catches children and makes them cry and stops the milk in the breasts of nursing-mothers. But elsewhere she is called a Kanwaria Bhut, a Chir-gunni Bhut, an Apsari Bhut or a Rokot Maoli. This difference

in names must be due; I think, again to the revelations of the local Rau-uria. A ghost comes to trouble the village; it is known that a pregnant woman has recently died; the Rau-uria declares that she has become such and such a ghost and must be appeased under its name. Henceforward in that village the people refer to the ghost of a pregnant woman by that name.

The Chirgunni Bhut takes the form of a *kiddari* bird, which by the Juang is regarded as ill-omened.

A mother who dies in child-birth or immediately afterwards, becomes a Daihini Bhut. Witches are apt to get her as their servant and perform their dark and wicked work through her.

When an unmarried girl dies during her menstrual period she becomes a sort of Churelin and visits boys of the dormitory in the shape of a young and lovely girl. 'She seeks men because, though she was mature, she had no man of her own.' If a witch can obtain a bit of such a girl's corpse, a small bone from the skull, for example, it is a most powerful agent in magic.

To counteract these many dangers the Juang, like their fellows all over India, adopt the most drastic remedies. The remedies, like the ideas behind them, vary from place to place at the whim of the magician. In many places, when a pregnant woman dies, it is considered essential to cut open the belly and remove the foetus. This should be done in some place separated by a running stream from the village. Mother and child are then buried separately—the child may be buried on the near side of the stream, but the mother always across it—and nails of ebony wood are driven into the four corners of the grave. It is often said that only the husband should perform the burial rites. He should tie the corpse to a piece of wood and attach this to two bullocks. He should drive them out of the village and across a stream. He himself must dig the grave without assistance. In one village in Keonjhar, however, I was told that it was the custom for seven men to perform the burial, but that these men must stay in the dead woman's house (supported by her family) for seven days, after which a ceremony of purification is performed.

The grave itself must always be closed with nails of ebony. Sometimes even before the funeral, precautions must be taken round the body as it lies in its home. If a woman dies at sunset, for example, it is necessary to shut the ghost in the house. Fires are lit at all four corners and the neighbours watch all night to see that the ghost does not escape.

After the funeral, additional precautions are taken to 'cut the road' against any possible return of the ghost to the village. The Dihuri tries to find a creeper climbing up a tree the wrong way round. He puts it at any cross-roads and returns home without looking back. Others scatter goat's-dung round the village approaches. Where a number of men go to the burial, the Dihuri goes out to meet them. He stands by the path and as they pass him he makes each pick up a handful of dust and throw it away

behind him. It is essential to throw away all the dead woman's pots, and for any feast to the mourners, which in any case is on a subdued scale, the family bring cooking-pots from a *bandhu* relative's house—for some reason it is taboo to buy new pots—and cook in these.

The husband is what is now called 'outcaste'; he is technically in a state of taboo. In some villages it is said that he must remain in this distressing condition for ten years; at the end of this time he gives a great feast to the neighbours and is purified. Generally, however, the period is reduced to a mere token period and the feast has to be adapted to the usual means of a Juang.

Although the general attitude to the ghost of a pregnant woman is one of distaste and fear, the Juang—like the Baiga and Muria—believe that certain exceptional men can domesticate such spirits and keep them on almost the same terms as human wives. It is said, for example, that in Pitanari (Keonjhar) a young Juang's wife died in her first delivery. The husband dragged the corpse by bullocks across a stream and buried it. He was greatly in love with his wife, and he used to go daily to the grave and sit beside it weeping, refusing to take his food. 'Many days passed, and then one day the girl with her child in her arms came out of the grave and said to her lover, "Why do you sit weeping here? Go to your house and live happily." The youth said, "Without you I will not go." The girl said, "I am ready to go with you, but you must remember one thing: Never say, May your mouth be burnt." The youth promised to remember, and the girl returned home and they lived happily together for a long time. But one day they quarrelled and the husband exclaimed, "May your mouth be burnt." As he said the words, mother and child disappeared.'

A similar story comes from Kanopuri in Dhenkanal State. 'A Juang caught a Pretin and kept her as his wife. When he caught her the girl said, "Whatever you do, Never say to me, May what is written in your fate be burnt. If you say this I will take one of your children and go to my home." That Juang promised. After some years he had two children from the Pretin. But one day he was angry with her, for the food was not ready when he returned from the fields and he cried, "May your fate be burnt." The Pretin took one of the boys and disappeared. The son who remained became the Padhan of Kanopuri.'

In Dhenkanal I was told that after a man's death his widow must remove her bangles for a year; if she is young she may dance with the unmarried girls as if she was one of them. If she has a child, she remains in her father-in-law's house till she re-marries; if she is childless and young, she returns to her parents' house and sleeps at night with the dormitory-girls.

The Juang do not, like their Kol-Munda neighbours, erect menhirs for the dead and I was unable to find any tradition of a Pot of the Departed. The dead and the ancestors are, however, remembered on all important occasions, and in Dhenkanal and

Keonjhar I found a custom called Sarad which indicated considerable respect for the dead father and mother. The ceremony is observed during Phagun Puni. A husband and wife—where the husband's parents are dead—calls the Bhuitar to his house. They sit together on the yoke of a plough placed in front of their house. Women in the relationship of 'sisters' anoint them with oil and haldi and the Bhuitar ties them together as if for a wedding. The couple bathe the Bhuitar and give him their old clothes, and they themselves dress in new ones. They salute all present and offer them a little gur and parched rice.

The following day there is a ceremony inside the house. The Bhuitar kills a hen or a she-goat in the name of the man's parents and cooks the meat with rice in a new pot on a newly-made earthen hearth. He puts the meat on seven new *sarai* leaves and the husband and wife offer it in the name of their ancestors to all the gods. After this ceremony is finished the people keep the First Eating of Mango Seeds. The Bhuitar receives in addition to the clothes a bit of new cloth and the sum of four annas.

PART FOUR

I

JUANG THEOLOGY

The theology of the Juang is now in a great muddle. Vague memories of the heroic past, the chance teaching of wandering Hindu ascetics, dreams and the inspirations of the magicians, contribute to a bewildering medley of gods, ghosts and deified human beings. I will try to get some order into the pantheon by tabulating and classifying these beings, but it must be remembered that this is not a Juang tabulation; it would never occur to a Juang to classify his gods by their dignity or virtue; he would be more inclined to arrange them according to their nuisance value.

High Gods

Dharam Deota or Mahapurub

Dharti Mata or Basuki

Deified Tribal Heroes

Rusi and Rusain

Saiyya Burha and Saiyya Burhi

Village Gods

Gram Siri

Basuki, Thakurani

Taneshwar Mahapat

Boram

Hill and River Gods

Banorai and Banodurga

The Pat—Guti Mahapat, Rengapat, Mograpat,
Kodapat, Bethiakar

Mountains—Malyagiri, Ganmardhan, Nimgiri,

Romaigiri, Chandagiri, Tumkiagiri,

Randachurogiri, Samhargiri, Kendragiri

The Seven Kaniya

Mainsasur

Jaldevi

Gods of the Forest-clearing

Bhuiyo Baghiya

Bulari Baoti

Karikar

Gods of the Home

The Pitru ancestors

Ghosts of the recent dead

Hindu Borrowings

Mahadeo and Parvati

Lakshmi

Durga

Balabhadra

Ram-Lakshman and Sita

and many others according to the locality.

HIGH GODS

We must now look more closely at this general list. Dharam Deota is often identified with the Sun God, and I see no reason to dispute this. Mahapurub is not a different deity, but simply a way of referring to the Supreme Being. The neighbouring Bhuiya consider that Dharti or Basuki Mata, who is Mother Earth, is the wife of Dharam Deota; the Juang sometimes regard her as having the very highest dignity and sometimes identify her with the village mother, Gram Siri. But certainly Basuki shares with Dharam the reputation of being benevolent; these two, perhaps alone among the gods, do not injure or trouble men when they are neglected.

Dharam figures largely in the legends, where he appears as the creator of the world; though he did not initiate the first human sacrifice, he was willing to use the blood and bones to make the earth steady. He put life into Markand Rusi's dolls. As he gave life, so he sent death into the world. Dharam with Basuki is remembered when the Juang drink liquor, and many prayers are offered to him. But he is not represented by images nor are temples erected in his honour.

DEIFIED TRIBAL HEROES

Rusi and Rusain are constantly remembered by the Juang in every activity of daily life. They are invoked to bless the marriage-bed, to make the forest-clearing fertile, to protect the traveller through the jungle, to guard the Darbar dormitory-club, to assist the boys and girls in the dance. There are endless stories of their adventures. Saiyya Burha and Saiyya Burhi are said to have been the children of Rusi. A story from Kirtanpur in Dhenkanal State describes how—

Saiyya Burha and his wife had seven sons and seven daughters. All the seven sons married the seven daughters. When Saiyya Burha died the seven sons went to live elsewhere. In their new home their children began to die; they changed the place, but still the children died. Then Saiyya Burha and Saiyya Burhi came to their seven sons in a dream and said, 'In our old home you used to worship us and remember Taneshwar Mahapat and you only built houses where we gave you leave. But now you have forgotten us.' When they awoke, the brothers at once sacrificed a black cow to Saiyya Burha and Saiyya Burhi and a goat to Taneshwar Mahapat and all was well.

VILLAGE GODS

Gram Siri, the Village Mother, is often identified with Thakurani, Dharti Mata and Basuki. She is represented either by a wooden post or by a stone placed along with other stones in a central part of the village. At Khajurbani, Gram Siri was in a sacred mango grove outside the village. Her stone with other stones

was in an oval hollow of a tree and about eight feet up in the tree was a pot for rice which was placed there at the greater festivals.

Gram Siri is worshipped at the main festivals and is offered a little of any game killed in a ceremonial hunt.

Boram is often supposed to be the consort of Gram Siri; he is sometimes identified with Dharam Deota as she is with Basuki Mata.

HILL AND RIVER GODS

Banorai and Banodurga are important forest gods; their names mean Lord and Lady of the Forest; and they are remembered at all the operations of axe-cultivation and before a ceremonial hunt. A legend describes how their cult arose.

At first when Saiyya Burha and Saiyya Burhi cut their clearing and sowed seed there, the wild animals devoured the crop. The old man used to go out to guard the place but the animals came while he slept. Then Saiyya Burhi went instead and that day Banorai and Banodurga came to help and they drove away the animals. The old woman thought it was her husband who was shouting and throwing things and she went to try to find him. But she could not and in the morning when she spoke to him about it, he told her that he had been asleep at home all night. She said, 'Well, somebody was shouting loudly.'

That night Saiyya Burha went and this time the animals again damaged the crop. The next night Saiyya Burhi went and again Banorai and Banodurga came to help. The third night husband and wife both went to the clearing and then Saiyya Burhi had a dream. 'We are Banorai and Banodurga. Honour us or we will destroy your clearing.' After that Saiyya Burha and Saiyya Burhi sacrificed at every sowing and reaping time.

'Pat' is a technical name of very wide distribution for any hill or forest deity. A Pat is represented sometimes by a tall pole with a flag, sometimes by a stone or pile of stones. Since these gods are local there are a great many of them, and there is some idea that a man who migrates to a place distant from his original Pat should from time to time offer it sacrifice. At Sarlabasuria (Keonjhar) the Juang said that Mahapat was the greatest of this type of god. He was born on the Piroparbat hill and came in a dream to the Dihuri, saying, 'Worship me and I will put sorrow far from you.' The Dihuri forgot the dream and many villagers died. He dreamed again and this time sacrificed a cow to Mahapat and all was well.

'When the rains fail', I was told in Pal Lahara, 'We call on the mountains for help, for they are gods.'

GODS OF THE FOREST CLEARING

Of the gods of the forest clearing (*homan*) the most important is the tiger god, Bhuiyo Baghiya. I have two stories accounting

for his cult. The first comes from Pal Lahara.

Seven brothers went to cut their *koman*. The eldest had lagged behind and the other six suddenly met a tiger in the middle of the path. Not one of them could speak; they were struck dumb with fear. The eldest brother shouted from behind, but no one was able to reply. When the tiger saw the eldest brother, it jumped into an ant-hill, burying its head. Only its tail stuck out and with this it beat the ground. When the eldest brother saw it, he understood that it was Bhuiyo Baghiya. He offered it a fowl and the six brothers were able to speak again.

In Keonjhar the Juang say that they worship Bhuiyo Baghiya or Baghiya Deota because it was a tiger that killed the first boy, by whose blood the world was made steady. The tiger god is worshipped at the First Eating of the New Rice. The day before the festival the Dihuri goes into the jungle and finding a good *siari* creeper with suitable leaves throws haldi and rice at it and goes home. At night he takes a friend with him and they sit quietly below the creeper. Baghiya Deota comes and climbs the tree. He rolls up a bundle of leaves and lets them fall into the Dihuri's lap. The Dihuri takes the leaves home, puts two of them in the Darbar; and takes the rest to his own house. It is important that no woman should touch them. Next morning the Dihuri and his wife bathe and then inside the house the Dihuri's wife prepares fresh *arwa* rice. The Dihuri puts some of this on the leaves and takes it for the worship of Baghiya Deota. He gives the other leaves to the villagers and each cooks and worships in his own house.

Another god of the *koman* clearing is Bulari Baoti. He originated in the following manner.

The wives of the first seven brothers had little sons. One day they left the children at home and went to dig for roots. As they wandered searching and digging, they got lost. At home the children cried. The seven brothers went everywhere searching for their wives till they were exhausted and sat down to rest. Then Bulari Baoti took the form of a little boy and came to sit with them. 'What is the matter?' he asked. 'We have lost our wives' said the brothers. 'Have you seen them anywhere?' 'What will you give me if I tell you where they are?' 'We will give you a good meal.' 'Promise to give me a feast every year and then I'll tell you.' They promised and asked his name. 'I am Bulari Baoti,' said the child and after telling them where the wives were he disappeared. Since then we have worshipped Bulari Baoti every year.

Another very important god, whom I associate with the *koman*, is Karikar the god of fire, whom I will describe later. He is specially remembered at the time of the firing of the *koman*. Bhuiyo Baghiya is honoured when there is danger of the crops being damaged by wild beasts; Bulari Baoti when the Juang go to dig

for roots, and Mahapat, Rengapat and Mograpat for the general prosperity of the crops and the safety of those who guard them.

The Bhuitinar sept is associated with some curious mythology and the cult of the Bamboo God, Bas Deota. There was a good deal of reticence about this and I was told that the clan originated when its first member was born as the result of the union of a human father with a she-buffalo. But one day when I was discussing this with a very old man, he suddenly burst into tears and said, 'I will tell you the truth. But we had all sworn to keep it a secret. It was Bhagavan himself who went to the she-buffalo and the result was that from the buffalo's belly was born a child who was Bas Deota, and from him all we Bhuitinar (or Bhuituriya) are descended.' I felt very sorry for the old man's distress, for I had no idea that I was going to surprise what the Juang evidently felt was a rather discreditable secret; I thought that the old man's reticence was merely the usual Juang objection to telling anybody anything. But he soon recovered and told the following story.

When Bas Deota grew up, his buffalo-mother said, 'What can I give you but milk to drink? Go now to the jungle, live and eat. Do not tell my name. Never kill or injure any of my tribe.' After some days when Bas Deota was hunting, a girl came out and sat nearby; seeing him, she went inside. Bas Deota thought, 'Where is she?' He saw her footprints by a hill. After three days he came hunting. He climbed a tree and watched. The girl came out again; she smelt him and went in again. Now Bas Deota dug her up and pulled her out. He married her and made her wear leaves. When he got the girl out, the world no longer shook. They had a son called Sabar.

Bas Deota is still worshipped everywhere. He is regarded as the giver of water. His worship must always be performed by an unmarried boy. If there is no water in a *koman* clearing and this boy sacrifices there, it is believed that a spring will soon be found.

II

THE CREATION OF THE WORLD

The Juang have a number of different and sometimes contradictory accounts of the creative process. The most significant, which resembles the Bhuiya legend, attributes the stabilization and what we may call the ornamentation of the earth to a human sacrifice. The material was there already, and it was shaped to some extent, but it was unsteady and it had none of the pleasant and varied decorations of hill and valley, vegetation and river. The following text is from Burhigarh (Keonjhar).

Dharam made two-and-a-half portions of earth, but he could not steady it; it shook to and fro. From the dirt in his armpit he made a tiger and tigress; from them was born Bagho Risi. Soon he had a little sister; she was Patrosurani. These

two came together and there was a son Risi Putro. Dharam thought in his mind, 'How shall I make the earth steady? Otherwise it will be hard for these folk to live.' The gods said, 'Let us get Bagho Risi's son.' They went to his house and said, 'Brother, give us a cock.' The old man got up to fetch it, but his wife told him not to give it. 'They really want our son.' The old man went back and said, 'We have no cock.' The gods said, 'Give us your son, and we will make you young and give you two sons instead.' The old man agreed, but the mother told the boy to dress himself in iron knives and swords; she gave him an iron bow twelve hands long and an iron arrow twelve hands long. The gods sent a tiger to catch the boy, but the tiger was afraid and did nothing. At last the gods laughed at the boy. 'What a dirty stinking fellow you are!' So said the gods. 'Why don't you bathe sometimes?' The boy went to a lake and tried to bathe with one hand. He held the bow and arrow with the other. The tiger followed him but when it saw this it went away. The gods laughed again. 'You can't get clean with only one hand.' This time the boy put his weapons down on a rock beside him and began to bathe with both hands. The tiger leapt on him and killed him. The gods came and caught him by the feet. They swung him round and round and his blood flew out in all directions. Wherever it fell the earth became steady. From his hands and feet came the hills and mountains; from his hair grew the jungle. But his parents Bagho Risi and Patrosurani grew young again and had twelve sons and daughters. Thus the Juang came into the world.

This is the main story, known over a wide area, and told with many small variants. For example, in some places the aim of the sacrifice is represented as being not to steady the earth but to create it. At Phanasnasa and Pitanari, the Juang said that, 'At first there was nothing but water. On it floated a lotus leaf. On this leaf a brother and sister were born. They came together and a boy was born. Dharam made the earth for them to live on out of the blood and bones of the boy. He gave them five sons and five daughters instead.'

Often the dialogue when the gods go to ask for the boy to sacrifice follows the normal course of a betrothal dialogue, which is always conducted by means of symbols. The gods ask for a fruit. The father replies, 'Had I a fruit I would give it to you.' He is bound by his promise and has to give it. Or the gods ask for a gourd and trick the parents into giving it.

The character of the tiger is sometimes elaborated. Its fear of the heavily armed boy is a theme for humorous comment.

The tiger began to eat the boy from the feet upwards. Suddenly it saw the head and the eyes wide-open looking at it. It was terrified and ran away, leaving the head untouched. The head became Baghiya Deo.

And at Kantara the Juang said,

Dharam told the tiger, 'Eat always from the bottom first, not from the top.' In those days men had only one buttock. There was no place for excreta. It was the tiger which ate a hole in the middle of the buttock and divided it into two.

In another cycle of creation stories, which appear to co-exist with the others, it is not a human sacrifice but the offering of a cow that steadies the world.

The earth at the beginning shook *lud-lud-lud-lud*. Mahapurub wondered how to make it steady and a fit home for men. From his thinking, Rusi was born in an ant-hill. He came out and began to hammer on a stone. For twelve years Rusi hammered on his stone. One day as he came out of the ant-hill hammering on the stone, an Asur girl came by naked. She saw Rusi, and said in her mind, 'This is good. I will make this creature my husband.' She came towards Rusi. Now in those days girls were not beautiful. They had beards and the vulva hung down like a bag between the legs. Rusi saw her coming and thinking, 'This girl will certainly eat me', he ran into his ant-hill. The Asurin searched everywhere for Rusi but could not find him. She sat down on the ant-hill. 'What is the use of going anywhere else?' She stayed there seven days and seven nights, but Rusi did not come out. The Asurin thought, 'I'll hide and then he'll come.' When she had hidden herself, Rusi came out, looked all round and, thinking himself safe, hammered on his stone and sang. The Asur girl came up behind and caught him by the shoulders. Rusi was frightened. 'Let me go. Don't devour me.' 'No, no, don't be afraid. I want to make you my husband.' 'But your brothers or sisters will devour me.' 'No, I am all alone. There is nothing to fear.'

So Rusi and the Asurin lived together; they both were naked. When Mahapurub heard of it, he thought, 'What shall I do when they have children?' He went to them and said, 'The earth is not yet ready.' They replied, 'What can we do to make it steady?' He said, 'Find the Kapila cow and kill it; then the earth will be steady.' Rusi and his wife went to find the cow. They came to Baora Parbat and found the Kapila cow sitting there. Rusi tied a rope round its neck and pulled it along. The Asurin went behind and pushed. They took it to Gonasika and killed it there. As its blood fell on the ground the earth was made steady. Rusi and his wife ate the flesh, and ever since we too have eaten beef.

A somewhat similar story comes from Kajuriya in Keonjhar State.

At first the earth shook *dal-dal-dal-dal*. But Rusi brought a black cow to Gonasika and sacrificed it there. The earth

became steady and he sat down to feast on the flesh. The seven Kaniya came hungry to the world; they said to each other, 'What is this Rusi eating? Let us beg a little and eat it.' They sent the eldest sister to the Rusi. When she saw him she fell in love with him and sat beside him eating beef. It got late and the second girl went to call her. She saw the eldest sister sitting beside Rusi and called to her, but she took no notice. In this way five sisters went to call the girl, but she took no notice. At last the youngest came, and with her eyes she saw that the girl was eating beef with Rusi. She called to the others, 'Come and look at this.'

Rusi buried the cow's head in the ground. There was a great noise and from the cow's nose the water spurted out. Six of the Kaniya ran away, thinking that Rusi was going to kill them. But when Rusi saw them running, he sprinkled the cow's blood on them and they turned into mountains; the youngest was Malyagiri, the next youngest was Nilgiri, then Tamkogiri, Samkagiri, Subedargiri and Tupargiri. When Rusi threw the blood the girls were running in all directions, looking back over their shoulders towards him. So all these mountains are always looking back over their shoulders towards Malyagiri. But the eldest girl stayed with Rusi and became his wife.

Another tale from Dhenkanal State describes how Rusi kept a boy called Chiriyatoka to graze his goats. The boy eloped with the youngest of the Kaniya sisters and Rusi pursued them with his sword.

That girl had four legs. But Rusi caught her and cut off one of her legs. Now she could go no further and she turned into Malyagiri—for this has four legs, the cut leg stands above Biranmunda (in Pal Lahara). The girl's blood spurted into the air and some of it fell on the boy and he turned into the Chiriyatoka Mountain.

For the Juang 'the world' consists of the Juang and Bhuiya Pirh of Keonjhar, Pal Lahara and Dhenkanal. It is the creation of the mountains in their own neighbourhood that holds their absolute interest. Another story from Kantara gives a somewhat different version of the founding of Gonasika.

The first Juang, the eleven brothers and twelve sisters were dancing at Gonasika. There was no water for them to bathe in. Many days passed. Dharam Deota brought water for them from the ground. But when the Juang had bathed they said, 'What can we do with all this water?' and they tried to stop it flowing. They sacrificed a cow to stop the water, and they put the cow's head over the spring. But from the two nostrils of the cow the water gushed out. They threw stones, gravel, earth over it, but nothing could stop the water and it became a great river, Ganga and Gannasa.

In Juang opinion mankind was created in two stages. There was the first stage where human beings were either created spontaneously on a leaf floating on the primeval ocean or were made by the Supreme Being from the dirt of his body. The second stage came when a large number of children were born, generally as a result of the first sacrifice, and from these children came the various branches of the human race.

For example, the Juang of Balipal described how originally there was nothing but water. On the water floated a lotus leaf. On this grew a banyan tree and in the tree lived an ant. This ant possessed a little earth. When the gods wanted to make the earth they did not know how to approach the ant, so they made a doll from the dirt of their bodies and when it was ready put life into it. This was Markand Rusi. He went to the banyan tree and asked the ant for its earth. It refused to give it, and tried to bite the Rusi. But he caught it and squeezed it till it excreted earth. As the earth fell on the water the world came into being. Then only Markand Rusi was on earth. Not even the gods were there. He was very lonely and longed for someone to serve him. He made two dolls of earth and asked Dharam Deota to put life into them. Both were boys. Markand Rusi said, 'There is no girl. How can these boys people the earth?' He tore his loin-cloth into four bits. He himself wore one bit. He gave a bit to each boy. Then he made two more dolls and again asked Dharam Deota for life. Now there were two girls. There was only cloth for one girl; the other wore leaves. The elder brother married the girl who wore leaves; the younger the one who wore cloth. When they grew up Markand Rusi made an axe and said to the boys, 'Go and cut the jungle, sow your seed and eat.' He called the elder Juang and the younger Bhuiya. 'You are both Matisar', he said. 'You will always be brothers.'

A Pal Lahara version of the same story tells how Rusi and his wife had six sons and five daughters (sometimes the figure is twelve sons and eleven daughters).

'The boys' names were Mahasaro, Ganasaro, Danusaro, Ambasaro, Dukanaiko and Guwariamundobaghiya. Rusi's wife thought, 'There are no other men in the world. How are we to marry these girls?' She arranged brother-sister marriages. But one of the boys has to be left without a wife. What was to be done? She decided to leave it to the eldest son Mahasaro to decide. She gave him the five girls and said, 'Divide them as you think best.' He gave a girl to each of his brothers, but there was none left for him. Directly the brothers got their girls they ran away, and Mahasaro was left alone with his truth (Sat). 'One day or other I'll get a girl,' he said to himself. But he left his parents and went to wander in the jungle. After some days Rusi and his wife had another daughter. When she was grown Rusi went to find a Ghar-jawai for her. He found his own son Mahasaro, but did not recognize him. He kept him as Ghar-jawai.

The children of Mahasarowere Juang. From Ganoşaro were born Sahibs and Rajas. From Danusaro were born Savara and Mallaro. From Ambasaro were born Bhuiya, Tosa and Gaur. From Dukanaiko were born Jora, Koriya and Kisan. From Guwariamundobhagiya were born Pan, Kol, Hadi and Brahmin. Greatest of all are the Juang. The sahibs are our younger brothers.'

III

THE WORSHIP OF FIRE

The Juang attitude to fire, as among all people who practice cultivation by axe and flame, is one of great reverence. The sacred fire in the village dormitory must never be allowed to go out. No one may insult fire on pain of heavy supernatural penalties. Fire itself is worshipped at many and is a material of worship at all festivals.

The Juang have a complex mythology to account for the origin of fire. In Pal Lahara the legend goes that,

At first there was no fire. The people used to eat their food raw. One day Rusi and Rusain took their digging-sticks and went to dig roots. As they dug the stick struck against a stone. Fire came out and blazed up fiercely. Rusi and his wife fled in fear; 'This thing is going to eat us,' they thought. The fire ate the grass, trees, leaves, fruit, everything. But when it saw Rusi and Rusain running away, it called loudly to them. 'I am Karikar Deota,' it said. 'If you run away I will eat everything.' They turned back at that and the fire spoke again. 'Bring your eldest son; offer him to me; and give me a place to live.' Rusi and Rusain came weeping with their eldest son and killed him before the fire. Karikar Deota was very pleased and said, 'Now where shall I live?' Rusi said, 'You may live in the stones and trees.' Since that day there has been fire in wood and stone. Its name is Rusilalai.

In Keonjhar the first appearance of fire was from wood rather than from stone.

Of old there was no fire. Men ate their food raw. Rusi and Rusain went to find fire. In the jungle they discovered a dried-up *agmutri* tree. The other trees were fresh and green, Rusi broke the branches of the dry tree and fire came out.

But at Tilkuda the Juang said that fire came from the lightning, which was one of the heavenly maidens, Bijli Kaniya. 'She plays hide and seek with her husband. When he chases her, she stumbles and falls to the ground and from her bright body comes the fire.'

Fire is also associated with Rusi's life in the ant-hill. At the beginning of the world, when his only home was an ant-hill, Rusi used to come out for air and drum on a grindstone in front of his home.

As he drummed, twelve years went by; and at the end of

that time fire came from the grindstone and the stone itself and the hills and trees began to burn. The gods saw it and were afraid; they thought, 'No one will be able to put this out; we will be burnt to ashes.' They came to the fire and with folded hands addressed it. 'You will be the greatest of us all. You will be honoured first, and we will only be remembered afterwards.' The fire said, 'Very well, but you must show me a place to live.' The gods said, 'Live in the wood and in the stone.' Since that day fire has been in wood and stone. That is why we always first offer incense to fire and then to the other gods. The grindstone on which Rusi drummed became the sun which is full of fire, and the grinder became the moon which brings the fire out of the sun. As Rusi beat his stone little chips used to fly off and these became the stars. Finally a curious and significant tale, closely linked with the main tradition of Juang mythology, comes from Pitanari (Keonjhar State).

Rusi and Rusain had twelve sons and thirteen daughters. One day Rusain took her youngest daughter with her to the jungle clearing and put her to sleep beneath a tree. While she was away working in the clearing an Asurin came and stole the child. That Asurin had eleven daughters. Now she had twelve.

These twelve used to stay at home. The Asurin used to go out to graze, for she fed as a goat feeds. One day as Rusi's twelve sons roamed through the forest hunting, they came to the Asurin's house. Night fell and they sent the youngest brother to get them fire. He called to the girls inside the Asurin's house, but they said, 'We are naked; how can we give you fire?' But the boy saw the youngest girl's vulva and his mind stayed there. Each of the brothers came and each saw the vulva of one of the sisters and one and all were caught by that magic. Then the youngest girl brought fire from her vulva and gave it to the boys. They cooked and ate. They had never eaten cooked food before. Drunk with the taste of it they returned to the Asurin's house, seeking the source of fire. Then came the Asurin and the girls changed the boys into flies. The Asurin cried, 'Man-smell, man-smell.' But the youngest daughter, she who had been stolen, said, 'Of course there is man-smell; am I not a human being? You had better eat me.' The Asurin went to sleep and the girls changed the flies back into men, but the boys were afraid and went away. Only the youngest boy remained. He took fire from the girl's vulva and cooked beef and they were filled with pleasure. His girl soon was pregnant and a son was born. The boy taught them how to make clearings in the jungle and how to cause a spring to flow by throwing black and yellow rice on a rock. This boy was the father of the Juang and since he took fire from his wife's vulva we honour

fire and we never piss upon it.

With such an elaborate mythology behind it, small wonder that fire commands the reverence of the Juang. 'If I am sitting on one end of a burning log,' said a Juang at Balipal, 'I must not allow anyone to cross it between me and the fire.' In Kantara a Juang said, 'You must never kick fire. If you piss on fire, your urine will stop and being held in the body you will swell up and die.' Fire is a powerful agent against evil spirits and hostile ghosts. Fires must be lit at the four corners of the house in which a pregnant woman has died in order to stop the ghost from escaping.

It is specially important that the fire in the dormitory should never be extinguished. The Bhuitar lights the first fire in a new dormitory; he uses the fire-drill and sacrifices a black cock. This fire becomes 'the village chowkidar which drives away evil spirits, just as the actual chowkidar keeps people away from a sahib in his bungalow.' To allow the fire to go out may bring disaster on a village. When Rajno's father was Padhan of Kajaria, the fire went out and the village was attacked by cholera. The people offered chickens to the Fire God in the dormitory and the epidemic was stayed, but not before five or six people had died. It is from the dormitory fire that in many villages the fire which is to light the felled trees and brushwood in the forest clearings is taken. The orthodox Juang also use this fire for field-sacrifices and indeed on any ceremonial occasion when fire is needed.

At Biranmunda I was told that formerly—I am not sure how far the custom survives—when the Juang had decided to cut their clearings in the month of Magh, they had a special rite in honour of fire. They made a trench seven hands long. The Bhuitar made fire with the drill. Everyone present threw a bit of dry wood into the trench and the Bhuitar set it ablaze. When the coals were red and glowing, the Dihuri killed a black goat and carried its head round and round the trench sprinkling the blood over the fire. First he himself, and then the Bhuitar, walked down the trench on the hot coals, but they were not burnt. After this the people went to a *shorea robusta* tree and set up a wooden pillar below it in the name of Karikar Devi (the Fire Goddess) saying, 'Live here and help us.' By the pillar the Dihuri buried the goat's head. The people roasted the flesh in the trench and ate it then and there. This was done every three years. 'But now,' said my informants, 'since Jinkini Sahib forced us to wear cloth and Sat (Truth, or Religion) has left us, we have stopped the custom, for our feet would be burnt in the trench.'

IV

THE CEREMONIAL CYCLE

Dalton found the Juang without any festivals. 'The even tenor of their lives,' he says, 'is unbroken by any obligatory religious ceremonies.' Risley says that 'no regular days seem to be

set apart for sacrifice, but offerings are made at seed time and harvest, and the forest gods are carefully propitiated when a plot of land is cleared from jungle and prepared for the plough. . . Offerings to departed ancestors are made in October, when the autumn rice is harvested.' Since the day of Dalton and Risley, although social customs have developed little, there has evidently been a great change in theological belief and ceremonial practice. The sacred pilgrim place of Gonasika in the very heart of the Juang country and frequently visited by Hindu Rajas and Hindu pilgrims, has been a strong influence towards the acceptance by the Juang of many Hindu ideas and practices. The close contact of Juang with Bhuiya has been another source of change. Today it is difficult to record the annual festal cycle of the Juang, not because of any paucity of material, but because of its variety and complexity. I will first attempt a table of the festivals that are observed, not universally, but at least commonly by the Juang.

January & February	Magh Jatra Festival; Festival of the Mango Blossoms
March or April	Festival of the First Eating of Mango Fruit
May or June	Rajoparab Festival; Asaru Puja
July ..	Thakunaya, First Eating of Mango Kernels
August ..	Gamha Punai Festival
September	First Eating of Roots; First Eating of the New Rice
October ..	Dassara; Diwali
November	Boram Puja
December	Pus Puni

We must now briefly examine these festivals one by one.

January-February

The Magh Jatra Festival is probably borrowed from the Bhuiya who celebrate it with great attention. It is only after this celebration that the forest may be cleared. Its most important feature is the erection, somewhere outside the village, of a small hut which is ceremonially burnt. The fires both in the Darbar and the ordinary dwelling houses are extinguished and relit from this new fire. The ashes of the burnt hut are valuable in magic; everyone present places a mark on his forehead and takes some home. The next day the Dihuri throws rice seed over the ashes and other men drive a plough across the place. This suggests that the aim of the celebration is to promote the fertility of the forest clearings that will be made during the coming year.

Some Juang celebrate the Blossoming of the Mango Flowers rather than the First Eating of the Fruit. The Dihuri boils *arwa* rice with some mango flowers, offers it to Gram Siri and then dis-

tributes it to the villagers. Before this is done no one may eat any new fruit or throw manure into the gardens behind the house. The Juang say that there is danger that if they allow the mango flowers to fall into a stream, they will be in danger from tigers. That is why they observe the festival as early as possible and do not wait for the fruit to ripen.

March-April

At the First Eating of the New Mangoes, the Dihuri worships Gram Siri and then leads the villagers out into the forest. They divide up the plots for *koman* and each fells a tree and makes a mark on the place he has been allotted. Afterwards they assemble in the Darbar and drink. Old women dance in a circle in front of the dormitory; a boy stands in the middle of them beating a *timki* drum. It is now that the old women recite the entire legend of Rusi and Rusain.

May-June

The period immediately before the rains is marked throughout Orissa by the remarkable Rajo Festival which celebrates the menstruation of Mother Earth. Some Juang observe the festival 'but it belongs to the Hindus; it is not really ours.' In Dhenkanal and Keonjhar the Juang do not dig roots during the three days of the Festival, for there is a fear that blood may come from the earth. They do not cook or eat in their houses. They do not cut wood or plough 'or do anything to the body of the earth.' If good rain falls immediately afterwards, 'if good seed falls,' they expect a good harvest. In some villages wooden swings are made and the people swing, sometimes in trance, sometimes simply for pleasure.

The Hindus time the festival as beginning on the last day of the solar month of Brusha (Jeth). It lasts for three days. During this time while the Earth is in her menstrual period, ploughing, sowing, digging, cutting is taboo. The Karana community is said to observe the festival with special attention. For a week beforehand the Karana women make their preparations, for after the Rajo has begun nothing may be bought from the bazaar. On the first day, all the girls and women awake while it is still dark and put on their best clothes and their ornaments. They must not walk barefoot on the earth; some wear wooden sandals; others put on a slipper made of the withered bark from the bottom of the betel stalk. Girls spend most of their time swinging in a special room known as the Rajoghar. They ought not to bathe or look at men or crows during the three days of the festival. The only work permitted is the making of sweets. They must walk about very gently so as not to hurt the breasts of the earth. Older women are somewhat freer and spend much of their time visiting and gossiping with friends. Men and boys play games, swing in mango groves, witness Nata or Pala performances.

There are many songs, most of them amorous, used at the Rajoparab Festival. I give the following as an example.

With a black black fish, a root and parched rice
 He goes to the upper village to see if she is really beautiful
 I have made a new relationship (*bandhu*) with you
 Do not bother me when it is time to sleep
 In the day time I camped by the river bank
 And I was full of hope that you would come
 By saying Wife, wife, you are quickly conquered
 I have come with *supāri*. Were you of my caste
 I would sit you on my lap and give you *pān* to eat
 I have made a leaf-hat with the leaves of the banyan
 If you sleep on the bed I will come and wake you
 The leaves of the toddy palm sound *kar-kar*
 Your love and mine is like honey and sugar.

On the morning of the fourth day the Vasumata-gadhua, or bathing ceremony of Mother Earth is celebrated. Women bathe and make offerings in thier own houses. They put tokens of vermilion and turmeric on the plough-shares and the men take these to the fields with baskets of rice-seed. The mortar in which grain is husked is given special worship.

Since it is universally—and quite wrongly—believed both in Hindu and aboriginal India that the days immediately following the menstrual period are those most favourable for conception, seed should be sown as soon as possible after the Rajoparab is concluded.

ASARU PUJA

The Juang have a ceremony that presents certain analogies to the Laru Kaj of Central India; it concerns a pig and is celebrated during Asar or May-June. When it is necessary to avert danger from evil spirits or disease a Juang householder may dedicate a pig. He keeps it for five years, feeding it with special care. He keeps a black cock as its companion. At the end of the period, the villagers assemble; each takes a little rice from his house and they go with the pig and the cock into the owner's *koman* clearing. They face east and pile the rice together. They cut off the pig's ears and carry it round the clearings, taking care that a few drops of the blood fall everywhere. As they go they beat the pig and they slowly pluck the feathers from the living cock and scatter them over the clearings. Finally they cut off the heads of the pig and the cock and bury them in one of the clearings. They fill in the hole, cow-dung the ground above it, make bread with *phaseolus radiatus* pulse and a little ground-rice and offer it there. Then they bring a fresh young pig and dedicate it for the next sacrifice by making it eat the bread. They cut off some of the hair from its head and wash its feet. Then they take the body of the sacrificed pig to the nearest stream, wash and cook it. Only men are allowed to eat its flesh.

July

Some time during this month the Juang observe the Bhajurbani Festival for the prosperity of the *koman* clearings. The people gather and every householder takes a chicken and goes with the Dihuri to his clearing to sacrifice. The Dihuri sacrifices a pig and puts a few drops of the blood in every clearing and throws over it a few of the chicken's feathers. On the same day the Juang eat for the first time the inner kernel of the mango. This is the Thakunaya.

August

Gamha Punai is the Cattle Festival. It is celebrated at the full moon of Sawan (July-August). The householders of a village gather in the Darbar and ask for a loan of grain. The Dihuri has to get what is needed, and the day before the Festival the women husk the grain and the men feed their cattle on salt and put oil on their horns. The village offers a goat and each household gives a chicken. In the evening, when the cattle come in, they sprinkle haldi water over them and make a mark on their foreheads in the name of Basondri Mata. They beat the cattle with branches of the *semecarpus anacardium* and tie its leaves round their necks. The unmarried boys and girls are specially honoured with a similar mark and the elders 'kiss' them by touching them on nose, chin and forehead. Lamps are sometimes lit in the cattle-sheds and everywhere the cattle are given a day's rest.

September

During this month or a little later comes the first eating of new roots in some villages and the first eating of the new rice in all. This is one of the oldest and most important of the Juang festivals. They eat all the different kinds of *kand-mul*—*pitār*, *tunga*, *bainga*, *saru*, *bhaji*, *bhirri*, *kakri*—whatever there may be. The Dihuri sacrifices a goat in some place between two clearings; in the old days the Juang used to give four goats and four chickens; and then they cook by a stream. The Dihuri alone may drink liquor.

At the first rice-eating, the dormitory boys worship their *chāng*-tambourines and other drums with the new rice, molasses, a fowl and liquor.

October

Juang observance of Divali and Dassera depends on a village's proximity to the capital of the State. The Juang do not appear to have any tribal tradition of these festivals and only rarely is anything done in the villages for their celebration.

November

The Juang do not keep the festival of Karam Raja which is performed with so much pomp and excitement by their neighbours the

Bhuiya. Instead they have a not very elaborate worship of Boram at about the same time. On the eve they decorate a new pot with garlands of flowers and in the names of Tan Pati and the Jogini offer it plantain, cakes of pulse and a fowl. The next day the Bhuitar goes fasting to cut a bamboo in Boram Deota's name. He worships at the foot of the bamboo saying, 'Let us live happily. Let no tiger, bear, snake, or wild elephant meet us as we pass through the jungle.' He cuts one bamboo and takes it to the Darbar. He cooks a handful of rice in a new pot and eats it. On that day no one may leave the village. The decorated pot is set up in a prominent position and the people tie strings with bundles of grass attached to them all round the dancing-place and dance for three days. After this the older men—it is taboo for dormitory boys to attend—go out on a ceremonial hunt in the name of Boram Deota. When they return they worship for the success of the crops in the clearings.

December

Before the Pus Puni festival no Juang may eat jungle fruit or cut grass. They may not fry *phaseolus radiatus* or grind it into pulse. Before the festival begins, the Bhuitar's unmarried son—if he has one—should take the omens by egg-throwing; if the eggs do not break, it means the festival will be a great success and will usher in a year of good luck.

The festival is for the Juang mainly an excuse to dance and get drunk; its serious purpose is connected with the gathering of special grain for seed. On the first day the Bhuitar and his wife, both fasting, both in new clothes, coudung a patch in front of their house and sit there on a new mat. The Bhuitar himself puts a measure of rice-grain in front of him. The villagers assemble and each household contributes one *paili*-measure and a fowl. The Bhuitar kills a hen and sprinkles the blood over the grain. He ties it up very carefully in leaves and puts it in the Darbar for seed. His wife husks *arwa*-rice with a new pestle, cleans it in a new winnowing-fan and cooks it in a new pot. She and her husband eat together. If there is any left over, it is divided into three parts—one for the Bhuitar himself, one for the elders and one for the unmarried boys of the Darbar. The next day there is special worship of the ancestors, and the Dihuri takes a goat along the path to the *koman* clearings. Half-way there he sacrifices it.

During this festival it is taboo to give any stranger fire from the Darbar.

The Juang observe chastity before most of their important ceremonial occasions. 'No one should give seed to woman before giving seed to the earth.' The rule appears to be that before cutting and firing the *koman*, before going to hunt, before the Eating of the First Mangoes, the Eating of the First Rice, before sowing, at a marriage and a death the head of each house should abstain. Before Pus Puni, however, which a time of traditional licence,

only the Bhuitar need do so.

Breach of the rule may lead to the failure of whatever enterprize is on hand, and it may have even more disastrous consequences. Gelu of Badhimarra recalled how long ago 'when the whole village went to hunt, one of the party lay with his wife before going. The village caught fire in our absence and every house was burnt. That year too the crops failed. We did not know what the reason was, but at last the Rau-uria showed us and the man confessed. We fined him five rupees and turned him out of the village.'

V

THE MENACE OF WITCHCRAFT

Juang life, like nearly all Indian life, is shadowed by the dread of witchcraft. It is not, however, dominated by it in the way that certain African societies such as the Azande are dominated by it. It has rather a nuisance value; it is there, dangerous and menacing, in the background; but witchcraft is not the only thing that causes unpleasant events to happen, it is not the only source of disease and death. Rajno of Kajuria was attacked by witchcraft three times in his life; Kharia of Kariapani suffered three assaults; Gelu of Badhimarra was only troubled once, in the course of a long life. Yet witchcraft was always there as a possible cause of annoyance and disaster.

Black magic, like the beneficent magic of the Rau-uria, entered Juang life in the days of Rusi and Rusain.

In those days Rusain used to wear leaves. She had hair growing from her tongue. The result was that she always had her tongue hanging out and the hair falling down in front of her face. This was so tiresome that Rusain went about the world cursing people. It was impossible for her to speak sweetly. She would say, 'May a tiger kill you. May a snake bite you. May a flood carry you away.' As a result many people died. Mahāprabhu thought in his mind, 'This Rusain will soon kill everyone.' He went to her and tried to pull the hair out of her tongue. When it did not come out, he went to the jungle to seek for some remedy. He found the centipede which rolls up into a ball. He thought, 'If I can only get her to eat this, the hair will come out.' Mahāprabhu brought the centipede, mixed it with some fish and gave it to Rusain to eat. At once her hair fell out and her tongue went into her mouth. Now her power was lost. She still abused everyone she met, but nothing happened. But after a time the hair grew again and she was as bad as before. Mahāprabhu again got the hair off, but this time she saved one or two threads and gave them to her daughter, so that soon the girl also had hair growing from her tongue. Then Mahāprabhu said, 'Now there are two of them, but I cannot go on doing nothing but pull out their hair.' So he made the Rau-uria to fight against

the witches. The first Rau-uria were Sidho Guru and Panto Guru.

Another, more obviously Hindu, version comes from Dhenkanal.

Ram-Lakshman had two sisters, Rauni and Bauni. Ram-Lakshman used to go out hunting and Rauni and Bauni would stay in the house. One day Rauni and Bauni said to their brother, 'Go if you will, but you'll get nothing.' And that day they got nothing and came home empty-handed. The brother looked in his divining twigs and saw that his loss of game was due to the words of Rauni and Bauni. The next morning he made a food-sacrifice and that day he got a fine sambhar. When he returned home he said to Rauni and Bauni, 'You two are witches.' And from that day there have been witches in the world.

The witch sets about her business in a way familiar to students of demonology all over the world. Sometimes she steals blood after an elaborate ceremony. In Koingura (Dhenkanal), for example, the villagers told a story, which they evidently entirely believed, of how an old man came to their village and slept in the dormitory. 'At night he wanted to relieve himself and he went out of the village and sat down in a field. At that very moment a witch passed by and thinking the man was the stump of a tree, removed her clothes and put them over him. He was so frightened that he kept quiet. The witch stood on her head and went away to drink blood in the village. She returned drunk with blood and muttering charms she picked up her clothes and put them on again. Now the man recovered his senses and he asked, "Who are you? Where have you been?" "Tell no one," she said, "Or I'll eat you." And she went home. The man followed her secretly and peeping through the wall saw how she brought blood out of her mouth and making it into *khir* offered it in the name of her Guru and ate it. The next morning the witch killed a fowl and invited the man to eat with her. But he told the villagers what he had seen and they caught the witch and killed her.'

Another very common method is for the witch to turn herself into a tiger. This is said to have happened in Korba. 'Two years ago a witch made herself into a tiger by her magic. She prowled round the village and went into a Savara's house to drink blood. The Savara came in with his bow and arrows and shot her. She died and when they looked at her face it was like a monkey's but she had the feet of a human being.' At Tambhur a Juang described how when he was a little boy of twelve years old, he met a witch in the form of a tiger. He was visiting the grave of his father's father, who sprang from the grave with bow and arrows in his hand to save him. The boy ran home and found his aunt was not in the house. This was apparently the only reason why she was suspected of being the tiger.

Sometimes it is not clear whether the animal is actually the

witch herself or whether it has simply been sent by her. Thus Kharia of Kariapani recalled how he once went to hunt and killed a sambhar. 'There was a quarrel about the division of the flesh. One of the party who was very angry with me sent a tiger by magic to my house. I was asleep but I saw the tiger in my dream and I got up and called the villagers and we drove the creature away. But next day I had a bad pain in my stomach.' Gelu of Badhimarra had a dangerous experience of this kind. His mother quarrelled with a witch. Who exclaimed, 'May your children die!' Soon afterwards while Gelu was on his way home through the forest from Telkoi he met a bear, which had been sent by the witch. The bear stood up on its hind feet and said 'Ho'. Gelu struck at it, but it clawed his arm before he could drive it off.

At Sukdeopur Pal Lahara, the Juang gave the following interesting account.

If a witch can get a cobra's egg on a Saturday, she can send the cobra whenever she likes to bite an enemy. If a witch can get the after-birth of a tigress or cat, she can turn it into a tigress or cat and send it to work her will. Babna Naiko of our village had a great adept in his family. It was his grandfather's elder brother, who once found such an after-birth and turned himself into a tigress and lived in the forest for several days. Babna was once going to the baazar at Lahara and met the tigress that forthwith turned into his grandfather's elder brother.

The witch attacks the life of her enemy, but she is capable of many forms of lesser nuisance. She can make women barren and men impotent. 'A witch goes secretly to a sleeping man; she catches in an egg-shell a little of the saliva trickling from his mouth, spits in it, mutters a charm and puts some in his pipe. When he smokes the mixture he goes impotent.' Another method is to put a *jondakira* (in Mandla called a *pan-bichia*) into a man's food. Yet again the witch finds a young ebony tree with a few fresh shoots on it. She goes to the tree on a Sunday morning while it is still dark, throws rice and *haldi* at it, ties it round twice with a thread of cotton and taking the name of the enemy twists the tree both ways. The ebony is always powerful in Juang magic and this is sufficient to make an enemy impotent.

A witch makes a woman barren by getting hold of a leaf from her leaf-dress or, as is commoner nowadays, a scrap of her pubic cloth. For this reason, no leaf from the dress is ever left about; the old leaves are carefully buried and if a scrap falls down during a dance it is at once picked up by a watchful relative. A witch can stop a woman menstruating and 'make her eyes break' if she gets a fungus growing in a dry bit of *sarai* which has been cut and put on a roof to hold down the thatch. It is said that this was actually done at Pitanari.

Injury and disease is often due witchcraft, though this is not regarded as the sole cause of these things. For example, Kharia

described how, 'A widow once said to me, "Lie with me." But I refused. In rage she attacked me with her magic. As I was returning home with wood from the jungle, she sent a little breeze. It was only a little, yet it knocked me over and the bundle of wood fell on my foot and injured it. The wound did not heal for six months.' Kharia's view of this incident, which a less charitable person might perhaps ascribe to drunkenness, was that the breeze could not have possibly knocked him over unless it had been a witch's breeze. And the wound was not a bad one; other such wounds healed quickly; there was only one reason why his festered for six months—a witch was interfering with the healing process.

Kharia also got an attack of diahorroea from a wizard. 'I was getting juice from my sago-palm. A man came by and asked me for some. I said, "There isn't any; the tree is dry." He was drunk and abused me. He was a wizard and put magic into the juice of the tree. When I drank it next day, I got a lot of pain and there was blood in my stools.' Rajno of Kajuria also got motions as a result of black magic. 'I went to Saplanjhi for a wedding. I was dancing with my *chāng*. A woman gave me some *pita*-bread; she wanted me to go to her but I refused. I ate the bread, however, and went home. The bread was full of magic, and after I had eaten it I was bothered continually by devils in my dreams, and they gave me motions.'

Cocks and hens, the animals so often used in divination and sacrifice, are sensitive to the presence of witches and often give warning of danger. 'A hen talks to its master through its eggs.' If the first setting of a new hen turns out to be addled, this is not necessarily of ill omen. They break the eggs and stick them on a twig which they place over the door and near the hen's roosting-place. 'When the hen sees its old eggs, it feels very sorry and tries to lay good ones.' But if the eggs are addled a second time, it is supposed that a witch has taken the hen onto her side and that the eggs go bad of their own accord as a sort of protest. To prevent the hen doing harm or giving information about the doings of the household whose life it shares, the owner burns it alive. It is essential that its blood should not fall on the ground. He secretly throws away the eggs with a lot of rubbish no one knows where. For if the witch could get these eggs she could do a lot of mischief with them. It is rather curious that instead of keeping the cock or hen that has thus given a warning so that it might serve as a test of future events, the Juang usually kill any creature that has been affected by magic. Thus a cock that crows by night and thus gives a very necessary warning that some god is coming from a strange country, must be thrown away behind the house and eaten by other people as soon as possible. The suspicion, I suppose, is that a cock that is able to recognize an enemy is capable also of being employed by him. Sometimes the owner of such a cock throws it right over the roof of the house into the hands of someone outside the family who will take it away and eat it. Sometimes he pulls out two of the feathers

backwards and throws it behind his back out of the house.

The most important thing, the operative organ, of a Juang witch is her tongue. 'The tongues of witches shine in the dark, for that is where their magic is.' This idea is connected with the legend of the hair growing out of Rusain's tongue which led her to curse her neighbours. It is when a witch says something that there is danger. She performs manual acts as well, but it is essential for her to repeat her curse, to utter her abuse or mutter her charm.

VI

THE MERCY OF WHITE MAGIC

Beside the regular village officials the Rau-uria holds a unique position. He is the doctor, the psychiatrist, the faith-healer, the prophet. He has no recognized position in the hierarchy, yet he is often far more influential than either Dihuri or Padhan. Often of course these officials are also Rau-uria, and then their position is unassailable. But generally the Rau-uria is an ordinary simple peasant in daily life. But he is one who has shown a peculiar sensitiveness to 'inspiration' or he has been fortunate in some of his natural medicines and has gradually discovered himself as a Rau-uria. Other men of this type have been regularly trained.

The Rau-uria are descended from the old Guru. 'They come from At Guru, Bat Guru, Panto Guru, Pantai Guru, Arjunu Guru, Parjunu Guru, Champagaruri Guru, Udhar Guru, Pudhar Guru, Putro Guru, Ramo Guru, Lakno Guru.' In Korba they said that the first teacher of the Rau-uria was Sido Guru. I must confess that I do not know what to make of these lists of names, which consist partly of obvious echo-words and for the rest of persons unknown to the regular Juang mythology.

When a young man is to be taught the work of a Rau-uria he goes to his teacher and builds himself a small hut of leaves outside the village. He gives a bit of cloth and a goat to his Guru and begs his food from the villagers during the period of training. This lasts from the beginning of the rains till about January; it should end by the Pus Puni festival. When he is ready he has to pass an examination. A group of people are called and each holds some small object concealed in his hand. The new shaman has to tell what this is by means of his fan or sticks. When he is able to do so, the people recognize him as a Rau-uria. He sacrifices a cow or a goat in honour of his teacher and begins practice on his own account.

The methods of the Juang shaman are very similar to those of the Gunia of the Central Provinces or the Siraha of Bastar. His most important work is diagnostic—to discover the cause of any calamity that affects individuals or the community. He does this by the usual methods of the winnowing-fan, the gourd, the measuring sticks which I have fully described in *The Baiga*. The incantations are different, but the actual methods are the same.

A few special methods, which I have not noticed elsewhere, may be recorded. When a witch is suspected to be living in the village, but they do not know who she is, the Rau-uria puts some *arwa*-rice in a measure, ties a thread round it, gives it to an assistant to carry and he himself holds the end of the thread. The assistant is then supposed to be impelled by the measure towards the house where the witch is living, and he goes to it dragging the shaman after him.

If anyone is 'struck by magic' it may be revealed to a Rau-uria in a dream. He goes to the victim and burns some of the leaves worn by women under the nose. This is supposed to drive away any evil spirit or ghost.

The Rau-uria is not only diviner and thaumaturgist, he is also a medicine man. A very important function is dealing with the maladies of sex which are so often caused by witchcraft. For example, where a woman has been made barren by a witch, the Rau-uria can mend her condition if he sacrifices with the appropriate charms a hen with feathers reversed and a white cock. In Tangapara (Keonjhar) there was once a famous female Rau-uria who was particularly successful in treating cases of sterility in women. If a Rau-uria can get some of the bones of an advanced foetus whose mother has died in pregnancy, he can use them to great advantage on the side of good against the witches. The bones must be kept very secretly in a room where no cooking is done and a menstruating woman must, of course, be very careful not to go near them or they will lose their power.

The shaman has to counteract the witch's attempts to make men impotent. He has several methods of cure, some of which are probably as useful as those of modern psychiatry. They all recognize that the condition is psychological rather than physiological and that therefore almost any kind of manipulative activity will be of benefit. For example, in one case the Rau-uria told his patient to get up very early on a dark morning, to find and dig up a *pāniāru* root with one hand and to eat it raw with one hand. The man did so and recovered. Another shaman prescribed the liver of a black hen and a living grub from a *sarai* tree roasted together and eaten in small quantities for a week. The cumulative effect of this, combined with the abstinence that was enjoined as a matter of course, restored the patient's potency.

The Rau-uria is also consulted as if he was a fashionable chemist for aphrodisiacs and restoratives. These are generally based on the principles of sympathetic magic. For example, to increase potency a man was told to find a *suta* root on a Sunday and to pull it straight up. He was to wrap it in a *bauhinia vahlii* leaf and roast it. He then opened the packet and cut it up into pieces behind his back and without looking at it. He ate the bits and it is said that he was able to copulate for as many times as there were bits. In Dhenkanal the following method of delaying orgasm was recorded.

Find a *jhunki dodka* plant five years old with a parasite growing on it. Go on a Saturday with haldi and *arwa*-rice to 'invite' it. The next day go very early, at cock-crow or before, naked and pick it with your left hand. Sacrifice a fowl to it. Tie it to your waist holding your breath and so long as you keep it there orgasm will be delayed. If you tie it to your arm, your organ will be as thick and strong as the root.

An important part of the Rau-uria's business is the bringing together of lovers, not as a vulgar pimp or go-between but by creating love through dreams and magic. The actual charms are not very original.

Kill a sparrow on a Sunday. Remove its gall-bladder. Go next Sunday to a place where two paths cross and fry it with the dung of a black cow, the ghee of a black cow on a bit of broken earthenware. Give it to the girl to eat or at least touch her with it. On a Sunday 'invite' a *jhilri* tree with a brown cock, vermilion and lamp-black. Dig up the root and take it on the crock of a new pot to a crossroads. Roast it with ghee on one side only. Grind it up naked. Mix the the powder with a little ghee and smear it on the back of your lover.

The Juang have considerable faith in these charms. They are specially effective in what would usually be regarded as hopeless cases, where there is great disparity of age or fortune. Dukhiya of Tambur described how when his first wife died, he wanted to marry her little sister. But she was very young for him and the family wanted to keep a Gharjamai for her. But the Rau-uria made him a love-charm; he administered it and she came of her own accord to his house and he married her.

In Patkuri (Keonjhar) a love-charm effected a marriage between a 'grandmother' and grandson. One day Bhalu went to his sister's village on a friendly visit. On the way he passed his 'grand mother's house at Renda. She was the mother of his mother's sister. She said to him, 'Where are you going?' 'To see my sister' he replied. 'Then come in and eat first'. Unsuspectingly he obeyed, but she put a love-charm in his food and when he had eaten it the youth fell madly in love with her and married her.

In Andhari, Manglu used a love-charm to win a second wife. He formerly had lived across the Keonjhar border in Buddhakond. He married a girl older than himself. 'By the time she had children she looked old and there was no more fun.' So he made friendship with a young girl. He used to bring her rings, necklaces, things for her hair—but she could not make up her mind to marry him. At last on a Sunday he put some ghee in a hollow bamboo, offered a black hen to it and took it to the place where the girl went to bathe. He managed to drop a few drops of it on the girl's public cloth which she had left on the bank without her knowing it. She was willing at once and he was able to carry her off from

Buddhakond to Andhari.

It is noticeable how very respectable these incidents are. The love-charm is not used in a vulgar flirtation; it usually leads to marriage. Indeed the use of the charm is one of the things that finally convinces a girl that her admirer's intentions are serious.

But there is no end to the Rau-uria's duties. It is he, for example, who warns the people about their cattle, telling them how they must avoid a cow whose horns bend over towards the eyes, for either it or the owner will die, like Bina of Kordagi who kept such a cow and in six months lost his son. The Rau-uria told him to cut off the horns and thus the danger was averted. Another dangerous cow is one with *taplap* horns, both of which curve over and forward; such an animal brings a bad harvest and its calves will always die. Equally inauspicious is the *orāng gai*, with one horn straight up and one curving towards the eyes, which has very watery eyes. 'Where this cow lives comes sorrow.' Lucky cows are those which have one horn standing up and one spiralling round, or which have one horn upright and one more or less level; this looks like a plough and if it is used in a field will give a good harvest.

Should any of the cattle stray, the Rau-uria is also called in and he discovers in what direction they have gone by consulting his measuring sticks. He must also treat them in an epidemic of rinderpest.

The Rau-uria is concerned with the weather, both as prophet and controller. He searches for young parrots in a tree. If the wood round their hole is wet and green he expects a lot of rain. If there is a lot of honey in a bee-hive too he expects good rain. The Rau-uria sometimes takes two *kumi* leaves and offers liquor to them in the name of Pathar Saharoni. Next morning, if the ground under the leaves is damp, they expect good rain. If the rains fail, the Rau-uria sends a young unmarried boy and girl naked and at night to steal water from a neighbouring village. They must bring a frog in the pot. In their own village, that is the place where they usually drink water, they mix the stolen water with some of their ordinary water and let the frog loose in it. They offer a fowl to Mainsasur and Jal Devi. The boy and girl carry the water to the Darbar and climb together onto the roof. They make a small hole and let some of the water fall through. As it drips down, the boys beat their *chāng*-tambourines and continue dancing and drumming till dawn. 'As the drums sound so will the thunder come and there will be much rain?'

In a hail-storm the shaman may get a rice-pestle and some ash from the hearth and throw them out of his house, holding his breath as he does so.

Anxious mothers must also consult the Rau-uria. If a baby is always crying, he may decide that the trouble is due to the jealousy of the Seven Sisters. He goes with the father to a stream on a Sunday, makes a circle on the ground with *haldi*, drives three nails of

ebony wood into the ground and sacrifices a black hen. If a baby is very thin, he may diagnose the hostility of Chirguni. Again on a Sunday he goes to a cross-roads, offers a turmaric root in Chirguni's name, puts three ebony nails and some date palm leaves beside it and spits saying, 'Go, this is your road' and goes home without looking round. If on the other hand the trouble is that a child is always eating earth, the shaman ties the fruit of the *bhora* tree round its waist and it is cured.

To protect a child from lightning, the Rau-uria gets it a ring from a country shoe and puts it on its finger. If its eyes are weak or it suffers from night-blindness, the shaman may prescribe a hare for supper. The kidneys are laid on the eyes and they recover.

The Rau-uria is not always approved. One proverb says, 'The Raja gets a living by oppression: the Rau-uria gets it by deceit.' But the Juang are proud of their magical powers, as is seen in their saying, 'A Gaur's knots (to tie up cattle): a Juang's magic.'

VII

A NOTE ON DREAMS

Some Juang say that men have five *jiv* (soul or life-force, also used for life-index in the folk-tales), in the mouth, ears, eyes, nose and chest. When a man sleeps, the *jiv* in the mouth, ears and eyes go out to wander through the world; whatever the mouth tastes, or the ears hear or the eyes see is a dream. The chief of the *jiv* is in the chest; if this leaves the body the man dies. In Kordagi (Keonjhar), the Juang said that the cause of a dream was that Bhairasni, a female ghost, and Mahapat, the god, came and talked to the *jiv*; what they said the man saw as a dream. Bhairasni gives bad dreams, Mahapat gives good. But the most general view is that the *jiv* go out from the body and whatever they see is a dream.

The Juang have the usual set of interpretations, not always consistently followed in every village. Some of the interpretations are due to a regular symbolism of the kind found in songs and riddles, others are due to a sequence of events which has impressed the people.

Dreams of animals are of varied meaning. The tiger dream is generally bad; sometimes it means that a money-lender is coming to claim a debt. The bear dream also is unlucky; it may mean a bad harvest and shortage of food. Monkey, deer and snake dreams are bad, but an elephant dream is lucky and prophesies a good harvest. If a cow rushes at you in a dream it suggests that you will shoot a sambhar. So if a man dreams that he is ploughing and his plough sticks in a root and the bullocks cannot pull it out, he will expect success if he goes to hunt the following day.

These are generally regarded as bad dreams—

To dream that one is flying means one will die within a year.

To see a boat will bring pains in the body.

To see a *chāng* broken during the dance means that someone will die.

To dream of a marriage and that one falls down in the middle of the marriage dance means that one will be very ill.

'If I dream of building a new house and it breaks, I will expect my wife to run away.'

To see a fire means there will be a real fire in one's house.

To see a wedding in a dream is often taken as a warning not to go to the forest for there may be danger from tigers.

To see meat means a relative will die.

The excreta dream does not, as so often suggest money, but only a pain in the stomach.

It is very unlucky to dream of turmeric being put on the body; there is danger of snake-bite or a cut from an axe.

To see animals being burnt alive in a forest fire means that a witch may enchant the dreamer.

But dreams are not always sinister and a warning. Some of the good dreams are these :—

To get your foot covered with mud suggests that you will get honey or meat next time you go to the jungle.

To catch fish means that *bandhu* relations will come for your daughter—here the fish is evidently the usual world-wide symbol of marriage and fertility.

To dream of cutting bamboos and bringing them home to make baskets means that you will get meat in a hunt.

Dreams connected with water are generally bad. To dream of heavy rain in which one gets soaked means that someone will die in a *bandhu* relative's house. Raipal Padhan had such a dream and the very next morning a messenger came from Biranmunda to say that his *bandhu's* son was dead. 'If I dream that my wife has brought water but catches her foot in something and falls and breaks the pot, and then she cannot find the bits, this means that someone in the family will die.' On the other hand, to dream of a flooded river simply means that one's wife is entering her menstrual period.

Ancestors often appear in dreams and must be carefully attended. To see a grandmother means a girl will be born, to see a grandfather means a boy. To dream that a visitor comes and one salutes him and makes him sit with honour, suggests that some ancestor is coming in earthly shape to see you. Such dreams should never be ignored. Gelu once saw an ancestor who told him to offer a fowl and eggs in his name. Gelu forgot about it and his house was burnt down.

Dreams during pregnancy are important. To dream of picking fruit means that my wife will soon conceive. But if I dream that I am eating the fruit, the child will die. Similarly if I dream of a dead man, it suggests that my wife will become pregnant but will miscarry. If a woman dreams of a gourd or of a cucumber and

the fruit is good and she picks it, it means that she will in due time bear a healthy child. But if the fruit is rotten, the child will be diseased. If she dreams of someone coming along a jungle path with a bow and arrow in his hand it will be a boy; if she sees someone bringing leaves or a bundle of wood, it will be a girl.

Dreams often warn men of the activities of the gods. To dream of a constable means, for some obscure reason, that a god will possess you. To dream that a white sahib has come to the village and is going into the houses beating people means that Mahapat Deota is troubled and must be worshipped.

We may now turn to a consideration of the dreams of a number of individual Juang with the meanings that each attached to them. It is extraordinarily hard to record Juang dreams, still less to get behind the conventional interpretations to some kind of real association, largely because Juang memory is poor and they are not accustomed to thinking and talking in this way. But such material as I have may be set down here for what it is worth.

Budwa, an elderly Juang of the Renda sept, lives in Kordagi. He recorded eight dreams.

i

I was fencing my field. Out of its hole came a crab. I put out my hand to catch it and it went back into its hole. I put my hand right into the hole and found a fish. At that moment I heard my wife crying, 'Come, a son has been born.' I went down under the water and a stone fell heavily on me. The meaning of this was that after a few days my third wife would actually have a child. She did so and it died after three days. But if I had been able to catch the crab, the child would have lived.

ii

I was sitting in the Darbar when a visitor came to my house. I spread a mat for him in the Darbar. A Paik came and demanded a hen for the Ranger. I was catching the hen when it began to rain. I ran home and saw cattle eating my crop and I cried to my wife, 'Give me water, I'm thirsty.' This meant that the following day a boy would die in my *bandhu's* house and an Amin would come to our village and send for me. This actually happened.

iii

I was lighting a fire and my clothes caught. I went for supper, but there was only rice to eat without any vegetable. My wife was going for water and I asked her for fire to light my pipe. Four or five girls came to dance and I abused the boys of our village saying, 'Make proper arrangements for them.' Then I saw that the roof of the Darbar was broken and the sun was pouring in. This meant that the next day I must call the villagers to break the Darbar and rebuild it, and

that girls would come from Kajoria to dance. The boys would all be away and I would have to make all the arrangements.

The symbolism of these dreams is fairly clear. The attempt to bring the crab out of the hole is an obvious fantasy of birth and failure to do so was associated with the child's death. In the second dream there is merely a shifting from one Government department to another in dreaming of a Paik instead of an Amin. The death of the *bandhu's* son may be suggested by the general sense of loss in the cows eating the crop. The third dream is straightforward and suggests that there is nothing in a party of girls coming to dance or the repairing of the Darbar to cause much emotional disturbance; the dream therefore proceeds without the machinery of symbols.

Budwa is the Dihuri of Kordagi and succeeded his father. As a child he went to cut a tree to make into a *chāng*, but he did it without the proper ceremonies and his axe fell and cut his foot—an incident which is possibly reflected in the dreams. When axe-cultivation was stopped in his area, he and his family nearly died of hunger—in fact a brother and sister actually did die—he himself kept alive on roots. He has two wives, for his first wife gave birth 'to nothing but girls' so he married again with her permission. But this wife too produced only daughters, and Budwa married again. She suffered from the same lamentable defect and the Rau-uria told him to marry a fourth who would certainly give him sons. He spent sixty rupees on his fourth marriage but it was worth it, for its fruit was two fine boys. Budwa says that the first time he made a plough his adze fell and injured his foot. His other five dreams are now recorded.

iv

I went out hunting and met a tiger, and escaped it. I climbed up a tree. The tiger caught me by the foot and pulled at me and I cut the tree. The axe fell from my hand, I sat to smoke my pipe, and made fire with the wood; and I woke up. In order to avoid the danger of this dream I took blood from my thigh and shoulder and offered it to Banorai and Banodurga.

v

I went to my clearing and killed my eldest wife. Her blood fell on my hand and I went to find water to wash it. My wife was running away and I woke up.

vi

I was making a new house. My second wife gave me food and I lay down to sleep. Then I got up and went round the village. A lot of rain fell and the wind blew so strongly that the trees fell down.

vii

A wild elephant came out of the jungle and attacked me. I

hid in a pit. There I found some honey and took it out. Then came a dog and barked. I ran to beat the dog and shouted 'Panther, panther'.

viii

After dancing with the *chāng*, I was sitting near the Darbar when four or five girls caught my legs and pulled them. My drum broke and I was burnt in the fire. A chaprasi came and I woke up. To avoid the danger of this I made offerings to Rusi and Karikar.

Budwa's views on sex dreams were interesting. 'If I love a girl' he said, 'and see her often in my dreams, it means that the girl loves me more than I love her. She remembers me specially during her period and that is the time when I see her most in dreams.'

Bangru, a man of about 50 years, of Nawagaon in Pal Lahara, suffered from bad dreams throughout his life. His birth was a difficult one; his mother was in labour for three or four days and the Rau-uria had to sit before her all the time. After delivery the child refused to go to the breast and everyone expected him to die. But the Rau-uria made food sacrifices and he survived. As a child he was left alone in the jungle and bitten by a scorpion. Another time when by a fire, he fell into it and was badly burnt. Indeed his childhood does not seem to have been very happy. Soon after he joined the Darbar he broke a *chāng*—a very great disgrace—and was fined eight annas. His early sex experiences were not very successful. He appears to have begun his sex life far too soon; the first girl he attempted was too young for intercourse; later when he achieved penetration he had no orgasm and felt giddy afterwards. Ultimately however he matured and had affairs with four or five girls before marriage. He was very much in love with his wife, from whom he had nine children, of whom six died. On three occasions he recalled perils from wild animals—a bear that he struck on the head and drove away, a tiger which he escaped by promising a small cock to his ancestors, and a wild elephant that he hid from in the crack of a rock. He remembered how he had been attacked by a demon as a child, and stated that he constantly saw ghosts, witches and meat in his dreams. Indeed the Rau-uria had told him that he could not be cured. He could only remember three of these dreams, however—

i

I was carrying some gur back from the bazaar. It melted and dripped from my hand. An old woman ran behind me licking it up. She sat before me and shook her head in trance. I ran for my life and she ran after me. I always fall ill after a bad dream. If there is a great deal of trouble I send for the Rau-uria. Once he said to me 'You will always get such dreams till the day of your death. No Rau-uria will be able to cure you.'

ii

I was going with my bow and arrow to the jungle and there I found a sambhar standing half-eaten by a tiger. I was pleased. I took it away and hid it half way along the road towards my home. There I roasted and ate it. But four men passed by and they carried it off. I abused them and ran after them. As I ran I came to my *bandhu's* house. On the way I saw a monkey sitting and I killed and roasted it. But when I put its body on the fire it ran away and when I chased it, it bit me. Three men followed me and caught me.

iii

My wife was in her period. I went for some liquor and drank it. Then I went to the house of my elder brother's son. There I found some hare's flesh and ate it raw. The house caught fire. I shouted and a dog jumped on me and I fell down. I crept along the ground to the water.

After a bad or a suspicious dream it is necessary to consult the Rau-uria. Thus Budwa said that after a bad dream the dreamer should take a black chick to a cross road and release it there after feeding it. He should say, 'Go, there is your path.' Generally after a dream of monkeys, weddings or excreta, when the man wakes up, he should cry '*Chi-chi-chi*', spit in the fire and wipe his face with both hands, exclaiming, 'Let me be free of this danger.'

Budwa averted the danger from one dream by taking blood from his thigh and shoulder and offering it to Baorai and Baodurga. But he was a Dihuri and accustomed to such drastic remedies. Another time when he dreamt that he had been burnt in a fire he made offerings to Rusi and Karikar Deota, the Fire God.

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COMMENT

THE death of Ananda Coomaraswamy, in September 1947, calls for more than a brief and courteous reference. For thirty years Research Fellow and Keeper of the Indian Section in the Boston Museum of Fine Art, Coomaraswamy's greatest work lay in the early years of the twentieth century. At that time, Indian painting was still regarded as largely Mughal and if today our views have altered, this change in taste and preception is almost entirely due to Coomaraswamy's work as collector and writer. It was he who explored the hills and valleys of the Punjab States, collected specimens of Pahari painting, founded the great American collection and by his lucid analysis in *Rajput Painting* opened up a new approach to the whole subject of Indian art. Today we are aware that even greater knowledge is needed before a Pahari painting can safely be assigned to its school, but the very fact that we are conscious of the problems is due to Coomaraswamy and to him alone.

For Indian anthropology, Coomaraswamy's writings have a special relevance. By recording the characteristics of sophisticated Indian art, he provided material by which the work of the upper Hindu castes could be distinguished from that of the more primitive races of India. He defined, as it were, the essentially Hindu element in Indian visual art. Yet, to those whose studies focus on the semi-Hinduized or on the non-Hindu, such definitions may open up surprising vistas. They may show that in the end, whether in fundamental attitudes or in institutions, the Hindu and the primitive are much more intimately identified than might at first be supposed. In such circumstances it is appropriate that Coomaraswamy should provide the beautiful passage which brings *The Muria and Their Ghotul* to its close. 'The

message of the ghotul,' Verrier Elwin writes, 'that youth must be served, that freedom and happiness are more to be treasured than any material gain, that friendliness and sympathy, hospitality and unity are of the first importance, and above all that human love—and its physical expression—is beautiful, clean and precious, is typically Indian. The ghotul is no Austro-asiatic alien in the Indian scene. Here is the atmosphere of the best of old India; here is something of the life (though on a humble scale) portrayed at Ajanta; here is something (though now altogether human) of the Krishna legend and its ultimate significance; this is the same life, the same tradition that inspired the Pahari paintings. Of these paintings, Coomaraswamy, in a passage which might almost have been written about the ghotul, says, 'Many will be drawn to Rajput art as much by sympathetic and ethical, as by æsthetic considerations. Such paintings must always ultimately appeal to those who are already attracted by Indian life and thought, and above all to those who realise that they form the last visual records of an order that is rapidly passing away, never to return. In any case, their ethos is unique; what Chinese art achieved for landscape is here accomplished for human love. Here, if never and nowhere else in the world, the Western Gates are opened wide. The arms of lovers are about each others necks, eye meets eye, the whispering *sakhis* speak of nothing else but the course of Krishna's courtship, the very animals are spell-bound by the sound of Krishna's flute, and the elements stand still to hear the *ragas* and *raginis*. This art is only concerned with the realities of life, above all with pas-love-service, conceived as the means and symbol of all Union.'

W. G. ARCHER

THE SACRED CHIEFS OF ASSAM

By J. P. MILLS

FEW things, and fewer people, are sacred nowadays. There is therefore a romantic glamour about a whole class still living in the odour of age-long sanctity. In the remote highland where the sacred chiefs reign the names of the villages—Hungphoi, Chi, Longching, Chintang and so on—have a Chinese ring about them that reveals the Mongolian origin of their inhabitants but they lie within the confines of India. The tribe to which they belong is that of Konyak Nagas, who inhabit a great stretch of territory in the wild, jungle-clad hills between Assam and Burma. Only a very small portion of this country has been taken over and administered. The rest is independent territory, of which some has been visited on rare occasions and some has never been seen by a white man. It is therefore not surprising that the reading public knows little of this land where barbaric finery is as yet untouched by tawdriness, and men and women are content with their own age-old culture.

The Konyaks are now confined to the Northern end of the Naga Hills, but it is probable that they once spread over the whole of them and were conquered and incorporated by the many tribes of widely differing cultures which we now lump together as Nagas. Memories of them still live in custom and folklore.

Hundreds of miles from their present home one finds traditions of a folk those men squeezed their waists into tight cane belts and whose women were only tiny apologies for skirts, two typical Konyak fashions of to-day. Their ancient monoliths still stand on soil now alien and their customs survive among tribes which have forgotten their name.

The custom of maintaining bachelor's halls, as strictly preserved from the pollution of female visitors as any West End club, is widely spread in Indonesia. All Naga tribes have them in some form or other, but nowhere are they as fine as among the Konyaks. They occupy commanding sites at the ends of the village streets. The art of the community is lavished on them and one marvels how their huge timbers were placed in position without mechanical aid. The posts and crossbeams are covered with carvings in high relief. Some are of gibbons or hornbills or warriors holding heads, and others, grossly obscene according to our notions, are designed to increase fertility by their magic. Behind a great front room, where men sit and gossip round smouldering fires, are the bachelor's sleeping quarters. Here, on exceeding hard beds, the unmarried men are supposed to spend the night, but a sudden roll-call would always reveal many absentees; for unmarried girls too sleep apart from their parents in dormitories and the vigilance of their chaperones is hardly even nominal.

Private houses, except those of chiefs, are much humbler affairs. A passage runs down one side of the house from the door on the

street to a platform at the end built out over the edge of the ridge on which every village stands. On this platform guests are usually received. But beware where you sit! Everyone chews pan, and everyone makes a show of trying to spit through the interstices of the bamboo flooring. But the standard of marksmanship is poor and everything is covered with disgusting red splashes. If you are an old friend you may be taken into one of the rooms opening off the passage. I say 'taken' advisedly, for there are no windows and you need a guiding hand till your eyes are accustomed to the gloom. There you will see the women and children sitting round the eternal dish of taro, a food which is insipid at the best, and guaranteed to blister the throat if eaten too fresh. Unless it is very different there this can hardly be the stuff that induces the traditional gaiety of South Sea Island feasts so beloved of romantic novelists!

If, as some think, the word 'Naga' is derived from a Sanskrit word meaning 'naked' it must have been to the Konyaks that some shocked Hindu traveller first applied it. When it is cold, as it can be in those mountains, men may sit enveloped in home-spun cloths, but ordinarily they only wear a flap of cloth tucked into their belts, and in some villages the belts are their only garment. These are first worn at an early age and are so tight that the body is deformed and grown men with waists of eighteen inches or less are common. What they lack in clothes they make up in ornaments. Scarlet is their great colour. Scarlet are the plumed hats the great ones wear and scarlet the many rings of cane on neck and arms. As a contrast the whole skin of a brilliant bird or even a long spiral of orange peel may be worn hanging from the ear. Their faces are tattooed with a fine pattern pricked out over the whole area from forehead to throat, not even the eyelids and the end of the nose being left unadorned despite the awful pain it must mean.

The women are little more clothed than the men. When it is cold they throw a cloth round them but otherwise girls wear nothing till about the time of marriage and after that only a loose skirt not more than six inches deep and open on one side. It is curious to see a long file of maidens climbing the steep path to the village laden with wood or water and as naked as the day they were born except for ropes of beads round their necks. But there is no indecency. It is all too natural for that.

Most strange of all are their funeral customs. The dead are neither cremated nor buried; they are wrapped in mats or placed in hollowed logs and laid out on platforms or in the branches of pipal trees. After a time the head is wrenched from the rotting corpse, leaned and brought back to its old home, where mourners welcome it and offer it food and drink. Then it is placed in a stone cist and hidden in the thickets near the village and a little wooden figure of the dead person is placed at the roots of a pipal tree.

Such are the people over whom the sacred chiefs of the Ang clan rule. So great is the care taken to keep the race pure that an Ang must marry a woman of his own clan as his chief wife, an alliance which is incestuous and horribly taboo according to ordinary Naga ideas. In appearance an Ang is indistinguishable from his subjects except that he can wear certain special ornaments such as a string of sky-blue beads below the knee. But in position he is above them all. A subject passing in front of a chief crouches low as he does so, and if he speaks to his superior he squats. The object of this custom, so strangely opposite to ours, is to prevent the head of a commoner rising above that of a chief. The idea is widespread in the East. Did not a certain Indian Prince who took a house in London cause all his servants to sleep on the ground floor?

The body of an Ang is sacred and his blood may never be spilt. It would therefore be taboo to assassinate a chief. Not that such a thing is thought of, for they rule well on the whole; centuries of unquestioned authority have raised them above any desire to show their power by petty tyrannies. A chief's house is far larger than those of his subjects. One I measured was over 350 feet long and I doubt if the owner could have told me off hand how many people lived in it. It may have contained upwards of 60 wives, for an Ang is apt to take any girl he desires. His wives are a standing labour force for his fields, on which he never works himself. Should he go to see his crops he is often carried down in a litter, and a big house is always specially built for him to rest in and eat his midday meal. In it is a little bamboo bench on which no one else may sit. In his own house too there are stools and seats strictly reserved for him alone, and often a flat rock outside, with footprints carved on it, on which he alone may squat to enjoy the morning sunshine. When death comes to him at last he is laid out on a special slate bed, with carvings of hornbill beaks at head and foot. Hornbills too adorn the hollowed log in which his body is placed in the branches of a sacred pipal tree. So the proud spirit passes, to begin, it is firmly believed, an exactly similar life in the Land of the Dead.

THE CULT OF SASTHI IN BENGAL

BY ASUTOSH BHATTACHARYYA

I

A FOLK-GODDESS

THE name of the goddess Sasthi cannot be found in any ancient Sanskrit Purana or any other Sanskrit religious literature. Some of the later Puranas, however, such as the *Devi-Bhagavata* and *Brahmavaivarta Purana*, give some account of her. According to the former, Sasthi is an epithet of Durga in the form of Katyayani, one of the sixteen divine mothers. In order to set up the aristocracy of the goddess Sasthi in this way, some of the later Puranas have sought to picture her as identical with Durga. But just like Manasa and Mangal Chandi, Sasthi is a local popular deity. Sasthi has found a niche in one or two latter-day Sanskrit Puranas just as Manasa and Mangal Chandi have secured a place in the later Puranas.

Infant mortality is a chronic tragedy in Bengal. It was particularly virulent in ancient society which was steeped in superstition and which conceived of the goddess as the protectress of infants. How long this goddess Sasthi was worshipped in societies other than Aryan even before her entrance into the later Puranas cannot be precisely stated, though it may be presumed that there was a goddess who protected infants from very early times, and who may have had some other name. Among the excavations at Mahenjo-daro and Harappa there are the miniature figures of the Mother-goddess who may have been imagined both as a guardian deity of the house and the protectress of the new-born child.¹

There is a Buddhist Tantric goddess Hariti who is also associated with new-born children. But the character of Hariti differs from that of Sasthi. Hariti is the stealer of children, in other words, she is the cause of infant mortality. The well-being of the new-born infant is sought to be secured by means of propitiating her first with votive offerings. In her character it is the malignant aspect that predominates, but the goddess Sasthi is benevolent. She is the protectress of babies. The Buddhist Hariti and the Puranic Sasthi have obviously sprung from two different traditions. In Bengali society the name of another popular deity similar to Hariti may be found—she is Jatapaharini popularly known as Jatpahari, who abducts or kills new-born babies. It is possible that the Hariti of the Buddhist Tantric sect and this popular Jatapaharini are identical. They have no connection whatsoever with the goddess Sasthi. In Sasthi, the popular goddess of Bengal, it is the beneficent aspect that appears to predominate as in the

1. E. Mackay, *The Indus Civilization* (London, 1935), p. 67.

great Mother-goddess of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa,—the malignant aspect is altogether absent from her character. This trait distinguishes the goddess Sasthi from all the popular divine characters of Bengal and deserves special notice.

Generally the goddess Sasthi, worshipped in the household, has not got any image. She is either worshipped at a vacant public place considered sacred to her and known as *Sasthitāla* (place of Sasthi) or within the house in an earthen pitcher (*ghat*). Sometime rich devotees raise small brick altar in such *Sasthitāla* in fulfilment of their mental vow taken for the well-being of their children. A piece of rag with a small stone fastened to one of its ends is hung in the branch of a nearby tree by the mothers of the still-born children or by the barren women for the long life of their future babies or in expectation of children as the case may be. This is popularly known as *bacha-bandha*. It is believed that when the decayed rag releases the stone the woman who offered it is sure to conceive if, however, the goddess Sasthi is propitiated with her devotion.

The late Nagendranath Vasu published the account of an image of Sasthi in his *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj*,¹ but some have suspected and rightly, that it is really an image of Manasa.² Though there are images of Hariti in ancient Buddhist sculpture, no image of Sasthi seems to have been ever engraved. At least none of the ancient images of Hindu deities that have so far been discovered in Bengal, can be identified as the image of Sasthi. This fact suggests that the supremacy of Sasthi was confined to the female community. This is natural, for it is women who are principally concerned with children.

II

SASTHI'S CHARACTER

As several diverse-natured female deities, born in different ages under different historical conditions, have in course of time been unified into the single name of Chandi, so have a number of female deities, who have figured as the protectors of children and were born in different periods and under different circumstances out of the diverse strata of society, been mingled, in process of time, into the single form of Sasthi. This goddess has been named Sasthi because she is the deity who presides over the rites which are performed on the sixth (*sastha*) day of the birth of the baby for the sake of securing its well-being; the name Sasthi can have no other signification. Crooke interpreted the word 'Sasthi' as

1. N. N. Vasu, *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj* (Calcutta, 1911), p. xxxviii, plate xv.

2. N. K. Bhattashali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanic Sculptures in the Dacca Museum* (Dacca, 1927) p. 227. f. n.

the 'sixth mother'¹ which is not the correct meaning and not explain the actual character of the goddess. Subsequently the epithet Sasthi was extended to all the popular deities who are beneficent to children. This is why the following twelve distinct types of Sasthi are worshipped during the twelve months of the year; —Dhulo Sasthi in Vaishakh (April-May), Aranya Sasthi in Jyaistha (May-June), Koda Sasthi in Asadh (June-July), Lotan Sasthi in Sravan (July-August), Manthan Sasthi in Bhadra (August-September), Durga Sasthi in Asvin (September-October), Got Sasthi in Kartik (October-November), Mula Sasthi in Aগ্রহায়ণ (November-December), Patai Sasthi in Paus (December-January), Sital Sasthi in Magh (January-February), Asok Sasthi in Phalgun (February-March) and Nil Sasthi in Chaitra (March-April). Crooke was incorrect in saying that Sital Sasthi whom he interprets as 'Sitala's sixth' was the goddess of small-pox.² But Sital Sasthi is an entirely different goddess and one of the many forms of Sasthi, the protectress of children, worshipped on the sixth day of the bright half of the Bengali month of Magh. On this day the women worshippers take cool (*sitala*) things as their meals, such as boiled rice soaked in water from the previous day and similar other things which must not be hot or boiled in fire. 'Sitala ki Saptami' which is observed in some places outside Bengal generally on the seventh day of the light half of the month of Sravan has also no connection with Sitala the goddess of small-pox. Somebody has confused 'Chat Parav' which is a popular form of sun-worship in Behar with the name of Sasthi. It is needless to say that no relation can, however, be supposed between Chat Parav and the worship of Sasthi in any way.

In reality none of the above goddesses is the real Sasthi who is properly only the presiding deity over the natal rites performed on the sixth day of a new-born child. This is the only form of Sasthi which is worshipped by the Hindus outside Bengal even as far as Gujrat. No other type of Sasthi is worshipped elsewhere by the Hindus. In subsequent times she has been called Janma-Sasthi also as to contradistinguish her from the other Sasthis. As already said, it was from Janma-Sasthi that the name Sasthi was derived, and latterly extended also to those other popular goddesses deemed to be beneficent to children. The rites of the worship of Janma-Sasthi, and the legend connected with her, differ altogether from those of the other Sasthis. But in course of time it was another kind of Sasthi of an altogether different nature who began to occupy a position superior to that of Janma-Sasthi: She is *Aranya* (Jungle) Sasthi also popularly known as *Jamai* (son-in-law) Sasthi. The blessings of this Sasthi are prayed for so that daughter and son-in-law may be blest with children. In

1. W. Crooke, *The Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India* (Oxford, 1926), p. 208.

2. Crooke, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

Bengali society the son-in-law has always occupied a privileged position ; perhaps it was because of this that rites connected with her gradually gained greater recognition and dignity.

III

THE WORSHIP OF SASTHI

The practice of the worship of Sasthi on the sixth day of the birth of the child has been in vogue in Bengal from the remotest past. The *Chaitanya Bhagavata* declares that after the birth of Chaitanya, the worship of Sasthi was performed according to usual rites in due time,¹ and it is obvious that these were already ancient. In West Bengal where there are public places over which Sasthi is believed to preside a mother often goes there and performs the worship of Sasthi with a view to securing the well-being of her child. In East Bengal where there are no public places dedicated to Sasthi the goddess is worshipped at home in the following manner :

On the sixth day after the birth of the child at about ten o'clock in the night, a small wooden seat is placed at the door inside the lying-in-room. A small earthen pitcher (*ghat*) full of water and a new napkin are placed at the seat. Two canoe-shaped pots (*donga*) made of the bark of the plantain tree, one filled with husked rice and the other with paddy, are placed by its side. Ripe plantains, some sweets and other ingredients of worship are also put in the *donga* which is filled with rice. A pair of iron bangles, a bit of a waist-band made of coloured thread, some pieces of gold and silver, a pen and an ink-pot are also put on the wooden seat. A new piece of cloth is spread on the ground before the seat and a lamp having five wicks soaked in clarified butter is kept burning. It is believed that at dead of night the god Chitragevinda enters the lying-in-room and takes his seat there. He accepts the offering for himself and in return gives a boon to the new-born child. The pieces of gold and silver are intended to remind the god to bestow on the babe the boon of wealth. Before he leaves the room the god writes its fate with his own hand on the forehead of the child, whose future is determined by this writing which, however, cannot be read with mortal eyes.

The door of the lying-in-room is closed and only the mother and the midwife are allowed within. Some women of the family ask from outside, 'Pray, what are you doing inside?' The answer comes either from the mother or from the midwife, 'We invoke the goddess Sasthi.' Seven times the same question is asked and the answer repeated; but every time before they answer, the mother or the midwife places the child on the floor on a new

1. Brindavan Das, *Chaitanya Bhagavat*; I. 3. (Vasumati Ed.)

piece of cloth and takes it back again on the lap. After that the women outside make the *ulu* sound (this is done by striking the tip of the tongue against the two ends of the lips), five times if the child is a boy and three times if it is a girl. The mother and the midwife keep vigil throughout the rest of the night and both of them deliver little sermons to the child, such as not to be afraid of his enemies, or of wild beasts like tigers, elephants and boars or of ghosts and goblins and so on.

No ash or charcoal from the fire which burns in the lying-in-room can be brought outside the room before the sixth day of the birth of the child is passed. On the seventh or the ninth day at dawn, the housewife unnoticed by others, takes some ash or burnt charcoal from the fire of the lying-in-room and puts them on a piece of plantain leaf cut from the top (*agrapata*), along with a *cowrie*, some turmeric, a lamp with its wick soaked in mustard oil and leaves them beneath a plantain tree within the house compound. She twines a thread seven times round the tree. This piece of thread is removed later and used as the waist-band of the new-born child for a time.¹

Next in importance to Janma-Sasthi comes *Aranya* (Jungle) Sasthi popularly known as *Jamai* (son-in-law) Sasthi. In the villages of West Bengal the worship is generally held in the public places of such worship known as *Sasthitalas* already spoken of. In East Bengal the worships are held at home. The mode of her worship and the legend connected with her are entirely different from that of Janma-Sasthi as will be evident from the following account collected from a village in the Mymensing district.

The worship of *Jamai* Sasthi is held on the sixth day of the bright half of the lunar month of Jyaistha (June-July). Each woman worshipper makes a bundle of long three-pronged grasses tied with bark of plantain tree. The following ingredients are also fastened to the bundle,—*karamcha*-fruits (a sort of acid fruits), a small bunch of green betel-nuts, some grains of rice contained in a small packet made of palm-leaf. This bundle which now forms like a small broom stick is put in a brass pot with some water. Some fruits, such as mangoes, plantains and lemons are also put into the pot which is known as Sasthi's *dala*. A spindle with some thread twined in it is also kept beside the Sasthi's *dala* which takes the place of the image. A priest is requisitioned to perform the worship. After the worship by the priest is over one of the elderly women of the family narrates a legend in glorification of the goddess and the listeners who generally constitute the worshippers and the younger boys and girls of the family, sit round her attentively. Every listener must take a flower in his or her hand while listening to the story. The same legend is repeated every year before almost the same group of listeners. After the narration is concluded

1. The above rites were observed in a village in the Mymensing District in East Bengal.

the narrator and the listeners bow down their heads on the ground in the name of the goddess.

The mothers-in-law then touch Sasthi's *dala* on the foreheads of their sons-in-law and also softly touch the head by the bundle of the three pronged grasses. The son-in-law must expose his navel which will be touched by the mother-in-law with the Sasthi's *dala*—the water contained in it must also touch the navel. Mother-in-law then takes the spindle and twines a piece of thread taken therefrom round the wrist of the right hand of the son-in-law. A few grains of rice taken from the palm-leaf packet in the bundle are given to the son-in-law who must eat these up then and there. New clothes are also presented to the son-in-law on this occasion. Sons and daughters, married and unmarried, also accept Sasthi's *dala* in the same manner from their mother. But in case of the girls the thread must be twined round the wrist of the left hand instead of the right. Feasts are also held according to the circumstances of the householder.

IV

THE LEGENDS

There are various legends narrated in glorification of the various types of Sasthi. The following legend is told in connection with the worship of Janma-Sasthi on the sixth day of the birth of a child.

Once upon a time there was a Brahmin whose wife used to give birth to short-lived children, and this made husband and wife very unhappy. Once again the wife conceived and in course of time gave birth to a son. On the sixth day of its birth the husband was as usual arranging for the worship of Sasthi, when a beggar Brahmin came to him and asked for shelter for the night. As there was no room in the house, the husband refused to entertain him. But the Brahmin would not listen and he actually spread his humble bed across the door of the lying-in-room to pass the night there. The householder, apprehending some harm to the new-born child, objected to such queer behaviour. The beggar Brahmin said, 'I assure you, I shall see that no harm is done to your child.' The house-owner agreed at last.

At dead of night Chitragovinda Thakur appeared before the house and asked, 'Who is there lying across the door? Away with you, for I must enter the room.' 'Who art thou?' replied the beggar Brahmin. The god said, 'I am Fate Incarnate. I am to enter the room. Do not stand in my way.' The Brahmin said, 'Please first listen to me and then I shall carry out your orders.' The god grew impatient, but said, 'Tell me what you have got to. I have no time to wait, the

'dawn is not far off.' The Brahmin said, 'You know that the poor parents of this child have no peace of mind as not one of their children born so far has survived. Who knows what you will write on the forehead of this child to-night? If you agree to divulge its fate unto me I will allow you to enter the room, otherwise not.' The god had no course but to agree. The Brahmin moved aside and allowed him enter the lying-in-room. After sometime Chitragevinda came out. The Brahmin asked 'Tell me what you have written on its forehead.' The god said, 'He will be killed by a tiger on the night of his marriage.' So saying, the god disappeared. The Brahmin informed the parents and advised them to keep the boy unmarried all his life.

Twelve years passed by. The parents out of greed for money arranged the boy's marriage with a rich man's daughter. The Brahmin, however, built a strong iron chamber where the couple were to pass their fateful night of the marriage. After the ceremony was over the couple entered the chamber which was immediately closed behind them. They went to bed. All of a sudden a smile flashed across the bridegroom's face. The bride asked, 'What makes you smile?' The bridegroom would not reply. The bride said, 'It must be that I am ugly.' The groom replied, 'It is not that.' The bride said angrily, 'What else can it be? You cannot hide it from me. Why do you laugh at me now? You should not have married me at all for you knew perfectly well what I was like.' So saying she began to cry. The groom failed to pacify her and at last agreed to divulge the real cause of his smile. He said, 'Fate has decreed that I shall be killed by a tiger to-night. I smiled as I thought how fate has been defied by man.' The bride said, 'I have never seen a tiger in my life. Can you show me one?' 'How is it possible?' asked the annoyed groom. 'Why is it not?' demanded the inquisitive bride. 'If you would just draw the figure of a tiger on the floor with charcoal I can certainly get an idea.' The groom begged her not to be so curious on such a fateful night. But the girl would not listen. The groom had at last to yield. He drew the outline of a tiger on the floor. The bride asked, 'What about its eyes?' The groom at last drew an outline of the eyes. The bride demanded, 'Where are its pupils?' The groom would on no account put pupils in these eyes. He rebuked the bride for her stupidity but without any effect. At last most reluctantly he put two dots in the eyes. No sooner had he done this than a living tiger came out of the drawing and jumped upon him. The bride screamed and people entered the chamber only to find the groom already killed.

The following legend is told in glorification of the goddess Aranya Sasthi or *Jamai* Sasthi in most of the districts of West Bengal—

It was only the low-class poor people who used to perform the worship of Sasthi. Finding the wealthy folk indifferent to her worship Sasthi decided that she must propagate her worship among them. In Saptagram there was once a king Satrujit by name. The goddess Sasthi thought to herself that if this king adopted her worship then it would be established among the rich. Thinking thus, she took the form of an old Brahmin woman, appeared before the queen, and said to her, 'I have come here from Burdwan to have a bath in the Ganges. To-day is the day of Aranya Sasthi. I shall take you with me and perform the worship of Sasthi.' 'What is the good of worshipping Sasthi?' asked the queen. "You are a queen," said Sasthi, 'and you know no sorrow or misery. This is why you know nothing about the glory and greatness of deities. Let me tell you all about Sasthi.' Saying thus she began—

'There was a merchant, Saybene by name. By the grace of Sasthi his wife presented him with seven sons. The wife of the merchant with her daughters-in-law always worshipped Sasthi. One day when arrangements for the worship of the goddess were complete, the mother-in-law left the youngest daughter-in-law in charge of the articles of worship and went out on some business. Now the youngest daughter-in-law was pregnant. She could not resist the temptation of eating the articles of worship. When the mother-in-law came back, she said that a black cat had eaten them. Now the black cat is the vehicle of Sasthi. When the black cat heard the explanation of the youngest daughter-in-law she was very angry with her. Thereafter when in due time the youngest daughter-in-law gave birth to a male child, the black cat stole it from the lying-in-room. In due course, the woman gave birth to six sons all of whom were stolen by the cat. Then she conceived again. When her time came, she went into a forest and gave birth to a son. Taking the new-born babe in her lap she sat all watchful, but in a short while she was locked in the embrace of sleep. In the mean time the black cat fled away with the child, but the mother suddenly awoke and saw it. She ran after it, but before she had gone far, she stumbled, and fell. The black cat presented itself before the goddess Sasthi with the baby in its mouth. The goddess took the cat severely to task for this cruel behaviour and went to where the youngest daughter-in-law lay prostrate on the dusty ground. The goddess rebuked her gently for her apathy towards her, and for eating up the articles of worship meant for her, but finally she forgave her faults and restored her seven children. When she returned home with her seven sons, the youngest daughter-in-law performed the worship of Sasthi with great pomp.'

When the queen of Satrujit had heard this story of the glory and greatness of the goddess Sasthi she too worshipped the goddess. It was in this way that her worship was introduced into a royal family.

In East Bengal the legend of Aranya Sasthi is some what different. The following is told by the higher class Hindu women in East Mymensing—

Once upon a time there was a man whose daughter-in-law always gave birth to still-born or short-lived children. She had a very bad habit; she used always to take her own share of food before the elders and in other ways also did not pay due respect to her parents-in-law. This was why no children that was born to her survived.

One day during pregnancy the daughter-in-law was sitting alone on the bank of a tank behind her house. An old woman with a stick in her hand passed by talking to herself, 'Ah, I am so harassed with my wretched long hair. If only anybody would scratch my head!' The daughter-in-law asked, 'Who art thou? Whither dost thou go this way?' 'I am a passer by' said the old woman. 'I have lost my way.' The daughter-in-law took pity on her and said, 'Come here and I will scratch your hair.' The old lady came to her and the daughter-in-law began to scratch her hair gently. The old lady being very pleased said, 'May she who gives me such comfort, be the mother of seven male children; may she die while her husband living; may she be endowed with all earthly bliss.' The daughter-in-law inquired, 'Can you say why one is barren throughout her life? Can you further tell me why there are some who always give birth to short-lived child?' The old woman replied, 'One who partakes of food before serving it to her elders, who spins on Ekadasi (the eleventh day of the lunar fortnight), on Dvadasi (the twelfth day of the lunar fortnight), the full-moon and the new-moon days, who does not observe any rituals, who does not pay due respect to her elders, who does not perform her domestic duties and who is idle by nature, cannot have any child born to her and even if it is born at all it cannot long survive.' The daughter-in-law inquired, 'Can you say how a child born of such a woman can be long lived?' 'There is nothing difficult in that,' said the old woman. 'If such a woman can be cured of the bad habits I have mentioned, her child is sure to live long even if it is born in the cremation ground of the Chandalas.' So saying the old lady suddenly turned at the daughter-in-law and said, 'Thou art certainly such a woman. Am I wrong?' The daughter-in-law clasped the feet of the old woman in her arms and said, 'Pray do not hide thyself from me, I cannot be mistaken, thou must be the goddess Sasthi, for who else could speak like this? As thou art so,' continued she, 'Pray bless me this time with

a long-lived child.' The goddess took pity on her and threw away the spindle she was holding so long in one of her hands to the adjacent cremation ground of the Chandalas. The goddess asked the daughter-in-law to go to that cremation ground where the spindle had fallen and assured her that the male child that would be born to her that day would certainly live long. The daughter-in-law did accordingly and she soon felt the pain of labour and almost immediately gave birth to a beautiful son. Night fell. The goddess had already disappeared and the daughter-in-law was left all alone in that place of horror with her new-born babe. The young woman got frightened, but was kept safe throughout the night by the grace of the goddess. Next morning she came home with the baby in her arms.

The days were passing by. The boy was named Govinda. He grew in age and became the most turbulent young man in the village. The neighbours soon began to resent his conduct. The mother of Govinda, however, bribed everybody with money not to curse her son and the villagers learnt to tolerate him. His mother would say, 'Money spent is earned again, but a son lost is lost for good.'

The day of the annual worship of the goddess Sasthi approached. It is forbidden to massage oneself with mustard oil on that day. But Govinda would not listen. He approached the oilman to supply him with mustard oil. The oilman refused. Govinda smashed his pitcher and massaged his body with the oil. The young of fish are not to be taken on that day. Govinda himself caught some and made a feast for himself. No one should take rice boiled on the previous day on that day. Govinda violated this taboo also and ate all he could. The mother invoked the blessings of the goddess who therefore forgave Govinda for his childishness.

Govinda's marriage was settled. As the marriage party started with the bridegroom towards the house of the bride, Govinda left it and asked his palanquin-bearers to proceed through the paddy fields with crops ready for the sickle and thus destroyed the ripe harvest. The mother duly compensated the owners of the fields and asked them not to curse her son. When Govinda reached the bride's place he equally indulged in similar whimsical acts with his new relatives. Everybody, however, tolerated him. After marriage he returned home with his bride and by the grace of the goddess Sasthi both the mother and the son were cured of their strange maladies.

Rudram Chakravarti, a Bengali poet of the medieval age wrote yet another legend which is current in lower Bengal specially in Khulna district. A modernized and incomplete edition of this

work has been published.¹ From the account of the origin of the book it appears that when the poet's daughter was once attacked with a serious illness, the goddess Sasthi commanded him in a dream to compose a poem in glorification of her. In deference to her command, the poet composed this poem which he divided into thirteen *palas* or chapters, in consequence of which his daughter was completely cured. Nothing can be definitely known about Rudraram's times or the date of the composition of his work. The theme of Rudraram is not the legend of Aranya Sasthi which I have already narrated. It is overlaid with various Puranic stories. It consists of three episodes, a Puranic episode about Kartikeya, an incident where Kshetramitra obtains a son through a boon of Sasthi, and the recovery of his kingdom by his help, and the popular story of Kalavati. None of the stories found in the narrative poems on Sasthi known as Sasthi Mangal and the legends of Sasthi in Bengal hitherto known to exist agree with the anecdotes given by Rudraram.

1. Ed. Asutosh Datta (Calcutta, 1932).

THE VILLAGE DUEL IN APA TANI SOCIETY

BY URSULA BETTS

ALTHOUGH the Apa Tani plateau has an area of only some 20 sq. miles, it contains the seven large villages of Bela, Hari, Hong, Mudang Tage, Michi Bamin, Duta and Haja, with a population estimated at 20,000 souls; and the tribe not only maintains itself in this restricted space, but, by a remarkable system of intensive cultivation, achieves a reasonably high standard of living.

The method by which they administer their closely-packed area is of interest. Each village is sub-divided into *khels* or quarters, which are occupied by units composed of a clan or a group of clans, and each unit chooses its own representatives, who are known as *buliangs*. These are of three classes. *Akha buliangs* are elderly men, frequently heads of clans; they outline policy and make all major decisions. The other two grades are executive. *Yapa buliangs* are negotiators, and *ajang buliangs* messengers. The *buliangs* of a village form, in effect, its council, and these village councils work together when necessary in a body representative of the whole tribe.

As with every other Apa Tani activity, tribal administration is adjusted to the agricultural calendar. For ten months of the year, from the beginning of the harvest in August through the manuring and bund-repairing of the winter and the sowing and transplanting of spring and early summer, disputes seem to be left as far as possible to settlement by the individuals concerned. The most usual sanction, if a settlement is not promptly made, is the capture and imprisonment of the culprit by the aggrieved party. This is subject, however, to a convention agreed on by the *buliangs* and binding on the whole tribe, by which only the actual offenders shall be captured and resort shall not be had—as with the neighbouring Dafflas—to the seizing of women and children of the culprit's family; a convention which, unfortunately, is only too often broken.

With the end of the rice-and millet-planting in the last week of May, agricultural work virtually ends till the following harvest and the tribe turns its attention to internal affairs. All the disputes accumulated since the last year's clearance are brought up for disposal. The entire plateau hums with activity. Day after day bands of negotiators and litigants can be seen streaming along the bunds through the growing crops, outward bound in the morning, homing and frequently unsatisfied in the evening, with shouts and trilling war-cries as evidence of it. Men with pine-torches appear suddenly at dead of night, carrying ultimatums or last-minute offers. Rice-fields are formally planted with short bamboo stakes, as a sign that the staker has a quarrel with the owner and intends to prosecute it. Should he not obtain his due, he breaks his enemy's field-bunds or cuts a purely formal swathe through the young rice. The man so attacked may either come

to a settlement, or, if he thinks his cause just, perform a ceremony at the scene of the damage to attest his innocence, and bring the matter to the attention of the village *buliangs*.

His opponent will most certainly have done the same thing already. In any case there is a joint meeting, or *mel*, of the parties and all the *buliangs* concerned, a judgment is given, and, should one of the parties refuse to accept it, a further three or four days are devoted to negotiation in the hope of avoiding sterner measures. If this fails, the remaining villages are called upon to join in an armed demonstration, a *gambu*, against the village, clan, or individual defying the tribal authority.

If finding the whole community against him does not coerce the recalcitrant, the men assembled for the *gambu* may proceed to damage his fields. If that has no effect, they attack his bamboo grove, cutting trees and fences. If that too fails, they may enter the village, cut down his house and lay hands on his person, lopping his hair-knot and removing his tribal red-cane belt and tail—the ultimate humiliation. In most cases, though, the mere threat of a *gambu* causes capitulation, and the fine demanded is paid up. This is almost always a mithan, and the beast is killed at once to seal the peace-treaty or *dapo*. A tripod of stakes is set up at the place of slaughter and the skull is tied to it, together with various model stocks and nooses, as warnings to treaty-breakers, while the four feet are sent to as many suitable cross-roads or public places and there set up on similar tripod memorials, known as *pogran*.

Occasionally, though rarely, a disputant's village may decide to support him in the face of the rest of the plateau. It may even happen that both sides have allies, and that the tribe is split into two camps over a case. The *gambu* may then be met by an armed defence and the whole develop into a mass duel, which, though it still retains its formal character, will almost certainly end in casualties, some fatal, as has occurred in previous encounters of this type. In the tribal interest such a clash is avoided wherever possible, and if one seems likely the *buliangs* may remand a case for a full year, by which time the parties' actions will have altered the balance and made a decision easier.

It will clarify the nature of this institution if I now describe *gambu* which I witnessed at Duta on 20 June 1947.

I had gone back from Duta to Kore when at 5 o'clock on the 20th in came Hage Tara, sweat streaming from his brow, his clothes round his neck and the information that there was to be a *gambu* in the morning and that I ought to come over at once to see it. Bela was the object of it; last March there had been a quarrel between someone of Bela and a Koj from Duta, there had been field-wrecking and bamboo-damage and finally kidnapping on both sides, and as in another case, the rule confining kidnapping to the immediate culprits had been broken. Bela had refused to

pay up the fine of one mithan which the assembled *buliangs* had demanded, and so now they were going to have a *gambu* over it.

We set off at 6 the next morning and arrived sweating at Duta in the early mist by about 9. As we arrived we saw Kago Tamu, going across to Duta village, and we had hardly sat down in the camp when he returned to say that the war-party had formed up and that the *kat* of the war-puja had been put up at the *lapang*. We were leaving Pape for Duta to see it when there were loud ho-hos, people could be seen crowded on the platforms of the outermost houses, and out from the village in single file along the bunds came the leading platoon.

They were an extraordinary sight. All wore the usual cane helmets, but they had their clothes draped almost Dafia-fashion, and those of them who had no tapestry neck-cloths had an *endi* or something similar wound round as a throat protection. Those that had them wore Dafia-style hide corselets; and the only man unarmoured was Koj Karu, who was simply and efficiently protected by his red cloth. He was the only man in the entire *gambu* to wear one. They all carried light squares of hide on a frame by way of shields, cumbersome things to handle, by the look of them, and too light to stop much more than a spent arrow. But queerest of all, they each carried a bamboo lance fully twenty feet long with a small crude iron spike on it, things so long that they wobbled with their own weight. They were all well-smoked and sooted with age, and getting them out of the front door in the morning must have been a major operation in itself. At the rear of the file were other men carrying bundles of what I first thought were torches, but which proved to be shorter bamboos, about the length of a Zemi or Kabul spear, some new, raw bamboos just cut and sharpened to a point, some regular spears with a small iron head, and some bamboos which had been cut earlier and stored in the house till they were as blackened as those astonishing pikes. So there they all came, tramping solemnly along the bunds with their fantastic shark-rods waving on high, ho-ho-ing and rrr-rrr-ing in unison, and formed up in a highly vocal group in the middle of Pape, the first contingent under Koj Karu being speedily joined by a second, and then by Nime, who was in semi-mufti, complaining of the intransigence of the enemy, and apparently about to act as referee.

After ten minutes intensive argument in which Karu's platoon seemed to be cursing the other for not having brought sufficient armour with it, they formed up and moved off up the road towards Bela, a tail of small boys, dogs and ourselves following along behind the amazing perspective of wavering pikes. I had a feeling we should find Cromwell and the Ironsides drawn up at the cross-roads. At the tail-end of the gardens the road forked. The Duta contingent bore left and continued out over the millet-fields to where a further body with lances, said to be Hari, could be seen

squatting and waiting for them; and we, with the idea of finding a point of vantage to sunward, turned right.

About fifty yards down the panh, at the old *dapo pogram* we found a small piebald mithan and a number of the Bela elders, including Taliang Bokr. Bela had capitulated and the ambassadors were frantically arguing with a number of other elders, all strange to me, in an effort to call the thing off; but the war-party had not put on its hide armour and walked all this way in a hot sun for nothing, nobody took any notice of them, and they were left gesticulating in an aching desert of millet.

Arrived at the battle-ground, which was a stretch of millet-fields overlooking Bela and the Bela fields and dropping to them by a steep bank, the Duta company took station to the left of Hari, grounded pikes, and looked round for the rest of the army. This was trailing to the scene by slow degrees, first Mudang Tage and Michi Bamin, visible as a spiky snake winding out of the gardens at the back of Pape, and then Haja, who took the path round and got to the scene first, while Mudang Tage and Michi Bamin all stopped to look at the mithan and join in the argument and so arrived considerably later.

Meantime we had got mixed up with Hari, and were still discussing the situation and being ourselves discussed by them when there was a loud- ho-ho-ing noise, somebody shouted Ron ulaise! all the small boys began to run up the low rise just in front of us, and, topping it at a brisk walk, we were just in time to see a cloud of dust and the back view of a Duta pike-charge stopping itself in a garden fence—there being no enemy in sight and the charge purely a demonstration *in vacuo*. No one had come out from Bela even to see the fun and the bunds round the village half a mile away were completely deserted. The Bela people were said to be all in their houses, but whether prudence or etiquette dictated this I never discovered. Extricating themselves from the fence, No. 1 Platoon Duta sloped pikes and trailed back again, and No. 2, after a good deal of spitting and scratching and general conversation, pulled itself together and executed a similar manoeuvre, just too far off to photograph, and were followed ten minutes or so later and equally disconnectedly by the contingent from Hari, who went hopping and scuttering with pikes levelled down twenty yards or so of gentle slope and brought up, like Duta, when they were stopped by the fence of a small vegetable garden. Their advance-step was like a debased version of the Naga one, but a more unhandy and untechnical variety of it I have never seen anywhere.

I did not see Haja, Mudang Tage and Michi Bamin carry out their charges, as by this time the line of battle was the best part, of a quarter of a mile long and they were at the far end of it. The several contingents were posted in clumps with their pikes grounded and their small-spear carriers more or less in the rear and the whole scene was like nothing so much as Elstree doing its

best with the battle of Flodden. The rehearsal atmosphere was much enhanced by the swarms of small boys and spectators and the determination of everybody to break ranks and join any gossip-group which happened to be handy, and one kept meeting headmen and stopping to pass the time of day with them—like meeting the County at a point-to-point. The only things missing were a lemonade-stall and a Stop-Me-and-Buy-One; the last a sad omission, as it was a blazing day and right out in the dusty millet. At this point, too, things moved on to a further stage. Duta suddenly formed single file instead of phalanx, trooped down the bank on to the nearest bund, and set out in a long line, pikes and all, to a small nullah about two thirds of the way between our position and Bela, and there they swung round and hopped sideways along the bund, pikes levelled at Bela, shields advanced, again with that curious and most inefficient version of the step a Naga uses. A few stalwarts leapt down and bounded forward in the same way through the growing rice but the main body gave up after five minutes or so and marched solemnly back to ground pikes and resume station in the line of battle on the top of the little bluff. They were followed in succession by all the other contingents, and for the rest of the morning the stretch of fields between us and Bela was continuously occupied by one or other batch of hopping and rr-rr-ing little black figures.

Meantime there was great excitement, as the Hong contingent, which was very late, had been sighted. A tremendous file of them could be seen crossing the valley near Michi Bamin, and some while later they came up, pikes bristling, by the same road as the others, and at the very moment they reached the battle-zone Duta, having done all that they had come out to do, lined up and started off home. They were intercepted by Hong and there was a furious argument, but after a great deal of shouting Duta consented to stay for the moment and Hong took over their vacant place on the hilltop. Then we discovered what it was all about. Hong had been in action already. The Ponyo clan had a friendship with that particular section of Bela against which the *gambu* was directed, and when the war-party of the remaining clans was leaving, the Ponyos formed up and lay in wait for it at their *lapang* and began to dissuade it with sticks and stones. There was then a pitched battle which ended only when the Ponyos were driven into their houses; and here were the Tilings, Hibus, Kagos, Tanyos and Takhes, all variously thumped and bumped and extremely angry, and howling for massed reprisals against somebody—preferably the Ponyos and Bela. They were refusing to accept the small mithan on which the rest of the plateau was ready to compromise and were demanding that the whole Apa Tani army go down with them then and there and—pending deposition with the court of a full-size cow-mithan—work off some of their feelings on Bela's crops.

There then ensued a magnificent argument, in the middle of which one caught spasmodic glimpses of people as various as Nada Chobin and little Takhe Bida, all shrieking at the tops of their voices and making sweeping gestures at the horizon; and at last Hong, finding that everyone else had had enough of it and that line and charged, furiously over the brow of the hill and down to the edge of the bank, the stewards clearing the course of dogs, boys, memsahibs, etc., and giving us a really superb view of the rush. Stopping at the edge of the bank, they turned round and walked back again, the last man or two kicking a spurt of earth behind him towards Bela with a gesture as contemptuous as it was crudely expressive. They then filed off into the fields for the most spirited demonstration of the entire morning, a number of them charging right down through the wet rice-fields and war-dancing and whooping right along the river, one hopes to the unbounded terror of the villains of Bela, though these remained completely unresponsive. They then all formed up again and came back, making a most imposing line right across the green sunlit rice-fields, and at last marched off home—all the other contingents having preceded them. But while the others, honour satisfied, had gone off to swell what was now a huge crowd round the *buliangs*, the mithan and the dapo-post, Hong refused to subscribe and marched off very pointedly by the track by which they had come, so as to give the peace-conference a wide berth.

At the *pogran* we met Kago Bida, whom a worried and polite old gentleman was trying to prevent from dancing with excitement on one of the heaps in the millet-field, and found that the mithan had already been killed and its head and feet sent to be set up at their several appropriate stations. Hong passing at this moment, two or three of the Bela elders went chasing off down the road to intercept them, but were shaken off and pushed aside. Tajo, who was taking no part in the *gambu* as the Bela people were friends of his, then went running after them, and managed to persuade them at least to hold their *mel* in a quiet corner of the gardens and not, as they proposed, in the middle of Duta camp. So there we left them arguing, Hong wanting to conduct a *gambu* against the Ponyos immediately and the *buliangs* of the other villages inducing them to postpone it and to accept the Bela settlement as the most Rade Talan, the culprit, could afford; and by the middle of the afternoon they seemed more or less to have succeeded, peace was declared, and everybody went home to tea. And except for the owners of the millet-fields which formed the battle-zone—and I gather that they belonged to Bela, so it does not matter—a hot but thoroughly interesting day was had by all.

Had Bela not produced the mithan and had the participants not accepted it, the next stage would have been to break the bunds and now the rice in the fields of Rade Talan and his supporters. If that had had no effect, they would have gone on to cut down

the bamboos in his *bari*; and if that still produced no reaction they would have proceeded to the final stage of entering the village and tearing down Talan's house, and possibly of removing his red tail, cutting his hair-knot and so forcibly de-tribalizing him. At any stage in the proceedings Bela, or a section of it, might have offered resistance. But they would have to have been very solidly behind Talan before opposing the very considerable force arrayed against them; comic opera as it was, it numbered a good 300 men, and could have made itself an uncomfortable enemy to a smaller force of similar armament.

DALTON'S DESCRIPTIVE ETHNOLOGY OF BENGAL

BY MILDRED ARCHER

WHILE Captain John Butler was camping in the Naga Hills, one of the earliest copies of Dalton's great folio reached him on 5 January 1873. Its arrival must obviously have caused great excitement and like most men when confronted by evidence of excellence in a colleague, Butler was highly critical of its contents. 'In the evening,' he writes in his tour diary, 'Colonel Thompson's dak brought in Colonel Dalton's work on the Ethnology of Bengal in which I was not a little amused to recognize my old friend 'Aja,' Chief of Phusamah (one of the villages belonging to the Sopvomah or Mao group already referred to), figuring as an 'Angami Naga' and I am the more surprised that Dr Brown should have made such a mistake as, if I remember right, he laid considerable stress upon the differences existing between these two tribes (the Angami and Mao) and in a measure very rightly so for even in their languages they are very dissimilar; however, it appears this is not the only error he seems to have fallen into, for Colonel Thompson informs me that the 'Manipuri' represented in the same plate (XIX) is he believes a Sylhetia, one Jadub Singh, whose only claims to being a Manipuri rests upon the fact that he has served the Rajah of that State for the last 12 or 13 years, and if this is the case it only shows how particular one ought to be in completing a work of this kind and I wonder it never struck Colonel Dalton to apply directly to the several officers in charge of Frontier Districts to assist him in the very difficult work he was undertaking.'

Later, on 9 March 1873, Butler again returns to the attack. 'Amused myself by reading some of Dalton's work on the Ethnology of Bengal and was much surprised to find that the letter press, at all events as far as the Naga Tribes are concerned, is not in my humble opinion worth very much and yet this is the very portion of the book for the accuracy of which he states in his preface that he himself is alone responsible. It seems strange that he should not apparently ever have considered it worth his while to refer to any of the Frontier Officers in Assam, for I notice that although he concludes his preface with a long list of officers to whom he is indebted for their contributions, there is not a single Assam Officer among the list. I should very much like to have Williamson's opinion on the Garo portion of this work, and Bivars on the Khasiah, with Shadwell's on the Jaintias. Whilst talking of this I must not, however, forget to mention here that Thompson told me this morning that on further enquiry regarding the parentage of the Manipuri figuring on plate XIX he finds that the man really is a Manipuri. On the other hand I must also not omit to say that the two copper figures in plate XXXII are, I think, either Chirus or certainly Komo (Kukies) and not 'representations of the Koch

nation' as Colonel Dalton would have us believe—indeed I think I have got a photograph of the man in the upper left hand corner, anyhow I feel pretty confident, I am not mistaken in pronouncing then not to belong the Koch lot.'

It is a measure of Dalton's great achievement that Butler should have felt compelled to record these carping and fractious comments and it is a matter for regret that, so far as I am aware, no other contemporary criticisms of this great writer have survived.¹

- i. Dalton's book was reviewed neither in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, nor in *The Indian Antiquary*, although many other contemporary works of lesser importance were noticed in these journals [V.E.]

ANCESTRAL ORNAMENTS OF THE LHOTA NAGAS

BY C. R. STONOR

THE Lhotas are undoubtedly one of the oldest elements among the Nagas; it is certain that they were in the Angami country before the arrival of the Southern component of that tribe. It is therefore particularly interesting that even to-day they have preserved a number of ornaments which they state were brought with them when they first reached the Naga Hills. Every village I have asked have told me they came from the direction of Burma.

The ornaments I have seen or know of are:—

(1) *Pendam*: These are women's bracelets. They are not a complete circle, and the two ends are thickened and broadened, and with flat faces. They are very heavy, and made of solid brass. In all that I have seen there are very primitive designs—almost scratchings—along the outer edge, and consisting of one or more rows of herring-bone pattern, with here and there a lozenge, also very roughly drawn. I know of no ornaments in the Naga or other hills with so primitive a pattern. They are obviously very ancient indeed. They are not worn, and their use is (1) as a token marriage price and they are in some villages temporarily taken by newly married couples as a fertility charm. I have no details of this. (2) They are, or were, used for omens, particularly by a party setting out on the war-path; when they were thrown into the air (one man said seven times) and the omens read according to how they fell. Fortunately it is strictly genna to part with them, so that many are still preserved. When an owner dies, they are temporarily placed on her grave, and I have also heard that they are or were buried with rich women.

(2) *Tongro*: Are ear ornaments of a most peculiar type, being very long, six inches or so, thin tubes of iron, tapered like a cigarette-holder, and closed at each end; the ends being pierced by a small hole.

They are worn by both men and women at the stone-dragging ceremony: these worn by men, which I have not seen, are smaller.

(3) *Conch Shells*: A common ornament still worn by girls in Akuk, Pangti and probably other villages, is a conch shell cut into a peltate shape. It is worn on the breast, and also on the back of the neck (usually at festivals only). Compare the common practice of Angami men of wearing a conch shell on the back of the neck. A similar ornament, but apparently longer in shape is worn by men, on the chest, at festivals. This latter is also carved at the bottom of morung pestles, below the Hornbills, and is shaped like a shallow spoon projecting from the lower end of the pest. The ultimate significance of both ornaments is thus possibly sexual. The representation of the man's shell on the morung is worthy of further investigation.

None of the ancient shells of course survive, but the Lhotas all say quite definitely that they are one of their original ornaments.

The man's conch ornament is known as *Sekho*, and the woman's as *Lakhap*.

(4) *Piapiro*: I have not seen this, but it is described as a cymbal of thick brass, struck as a death gong. The Bhotas are positive that they are not of Plains origin, and have been with them from time immemorial.

(5) *Yanpendro*: I have not seen these, but they are brass beads worn by children and sometimes by grown-ups. They are still kept, but seldom worn nowadays.

In addition, the ordinary bracelets worn by women on wrist and upper arm, and made in the plains, are said to be of traditional form.

NOTES ON N. V. TILAK'S BIOGRAPHY

BY SHAMRAO HIVALE

I

THE biography of the poet Narayan Vaman Tilak, written in Marathi by his widow Mrs Laxmibai Tilak (*Smriti-chitre*, Bombay, 1934) has many points of interest to anthropologists. Tilak was born in 1862 in a very orthodox Konkanast family. As a youth he quickly won fame as a poet and when in his thirties he came under missionary influence and was eventually converted to Christianity, the event caused consternation in the Brahmin community of the day. Every effort was made to postpone or avert his conversion, and some rich and influential leaders of his caste even planned to put up a false case of theft against him so that he might have leisure in prison to reconsider his position.

Tilak was already married when he became a Christian and although his widow wrote her book many years after his death in 1919, her memory of the struggles and trials of those days is so fresh that her account of them is the most vivid thing in the book. After five years struggle with herself and her family she decided to follow her husband's example and she too became a Christian. Such changes of faith have many social and economic consequences and the two volumes of the *Smriti-chitre* provide an interesting study of transculturation in its most dramatic form.

At first Tilak's change of religion meant almost a change of nationality. He completely westernized himself and after his ordination posed as a European missionary with 'dog-collar' and solar topi. He even bought an English dress for his wife. Laxmibai on the other hand was a simple Indian girl. She had never seen an English woman. She describes the panic in her village on the first occasion that an Indian official visited the place wearing a topi. The children and women ran from the village crying, 'A sahib has come.' After her conversion she came to live with her husband and found it very difficult to accustom herself to his strange ways. She disliked his clothes and was not at home with knives and forks. Before long, however, a change came over Tilak. He was affected by the rising influence of nationalism and soon returned to the habits, though not the faith, of his own tradition. He took off his hat and removed his collar. No meat was permitted in his house. He asked people not to call him 'Reverend' and put on the attire of a sannyasi. In his will he asked that his body should be cremated, not buried according to the usual Christian custom. He threw himself into the task of Indianizing Christian worship and modes of thought and married his only son according to Hindu rites.

The psychology underlying religious conversion and the social and economic consequences that flow from it have hitherto been

inadequately studied in India ; an objective scientific account by an anthropologist would be of great value.

II

There are some remarkable passages about Mrs Tilak's relations with the gods that remind me of similar attitudes among the aboriginals. After Tilak had left his wife to become a Christian she turned to religion not only for solace but for the very practical purpose of utilizing its mysterious potency to redeem her husband. 'Now I began to desire god—god. I was mad about god. I had nothing else to occupy my mind.' She fasted and worshipped as Parvati had done for Mahadeo. 'In Jalalpur,' she says, 'there is an enormous Maruthi. I used to put a stick in his hand so that he should go after my husband and bring him back.' Sometimes, she continues, 'I would put a stone on the god's head with the idea that he would have to do my work if he wanted to be rid of the stone.' In just the same way the Gonds of central India cover the symbol of Bhimsen with dung at a time of drought in order to force him to bring rain and wash himself clean. Mrs Tilak used to write the name of Rama on little bits of a paper and stick them all over Maruthi's body. 'My idea in doing this was that Maruti would have to help me in order to save himself from the sin of having a paper bearing the name of Rama stuck to his feet., The aboriginals of Mandla also try to influence their gods in similar ways. They threaten and abuse them saying, for example, 'I will never worship you again ; you will have to go hungry if you don't do what I want. I will clear my throat and spit on you if you don't obey me.'

III

Mrs Tilak was herself a poet and she gives a poem of her own which illustrates a curious Maharashtrian custom. In Marathi, inanimate things may be male or female as well as neuter, a state of affairs which has obvious possibilities. For example, different sweets have different genders—India's famous *pedha* (made of milk and sugar) is a gentleman while the *jalebi* is a lady. When a woman makes a feminine sweet, she always keeps a little over to make a masculine sweet and then places the one above the other. One day the young Tilak asked his mother why she did this, and the following poem was the result.

Wherever you look in the world you find the relationship of man and woman—everywhere, below and above.

Above the lonely sun¹ is not alone. Not for a moment. The light² stays close by embracing him.

¹ Male

² Female

The lonely moon¹ is not alone. Not even he. Enclasped with him for ever is the star.

The seven sages in the sky, these Arundhati cares for tenderly.

Amidst these motionless, there is the relation of husband and brothers.

The sky is beautiful with its pairs of she-stars and he-stars, And what appears above appears below.

These rivers²—all of them go on to join the ocean.³

These branches⁴—they clasp and hold the trees.⁵

If life and that which holds it do not unite,

Then where could you discover living things?

When poet⁶ and inspiration⁷ meet together, their wedded intellect grows beautiful in love

And it is only then that songs burst out with ease.

O to me the only culture is the relation of man and woman—you hear of nought else in the world.

Why does *karanji*⁸ ask where has her *modak*⁹ gone?

Why do *polis*¹⁰ beg for *kanawala*¹¹ to be made?

Why does *papad*¹² weep without his *lati*¹³?

I think I do not need to teach the reason for these things.

Say, if you wish, 'How mad are the daughters of India,

How poorly are they instructed,

They are given to excessive imaginings.'

But we will ever remain so and doubtless will make others mad like ourselves.

The Gonds and Pardhans of Mandla have similar ideas. When a woman makes a *bari*, she keeps a little flour for its masculine counterpart, the *bara*. If this is not done, the *bari* remains unmarried and it is believed that it will not dry properly and soon go bad. For this is what happens to unmarried human beings, who turn into evil ghosts after their lonely death. Again, if a woman is making the masculine *bara* she makes at the same time a little *kadhi* and immerses a *bara* in it in order to 'marry' them. If she forgets to put aside a little flour for the *kadhi*, she makes holes in the *bara*, which has the same result.

At such a time people in a joking relation to each other laugh and joke together. If a girl is making *baras* and her brother and his brother-in-law are there, the brother-in-law will say to her brother, 'Come, your father's daughter has made *bara*. Will you or shall I make a hole in it?'

In Chhattisgarh a Bhadawani song is used to tease the bridegroom.

- 1 Male
- 2 Female
- 3 Male
- 4 Female

- 5 Male
- 6 Male
- 7 Female
- 8 Female

- 9 Male
- 10 Female
- 11 Male
- 12 Male

- 13 Female

Bara banain kore kore
Khayel dein bore bore
Ais dulaha dauka
Datanla nipore.

Virgin virgin *baras* are made
And are immersed (in *kadhi*)
The bride-groom comes (eagerly)
And gnashes his teeth.

The idea is that the bridegroom comes expectantly to his bride believing her to be a virgin, but is soon disappointed.

Panihya or *kuchlaiya roti* (the last small bread made from the remains of kneaded flour) is never served to an unmarried girl or boy, for this is supposed to delay their marriage and will cause rain to fall on their wedding-day.

This belief in the union of inanimate things is common throughout India. One day I was discussing with a Hindu motordriver why an electric horn had failed. 'The horn is male,' he said. 'It is necessary to add a female horn and then the sound produced by their union will be strong and drive people off the street.' He also described the positive and negative currents of the battery as male and female.

Tilak's biography thus illustrates the remarkable unity of idea and custom in every part of Indian society.

NOTES AND QUERIES

A FOOTNOTE IN THE AO NAGAS

A NAGA case decided in 1942 bears vivid testimony partly to the value of anthropological monographs, but also to the importance of incidental footnotes.

'The most striking feature of the Chongli system,' wrote J. P. Mills in *The Ao Nagas* (London, 1926, p. 181,) 'is that at the end of every generation all the councillors of a 'khel' vacate office and a new body takes their place. Every Chongli village has a standardized generation of so many years, usually between twenty-five and thirty. When the time comes to vacate office there is almost always a violent quarrel. The office holders, reluctant to relinquish their power and shares of meat, argue that their time is not up yet, while the younger generation are eager to take their place. It must have often happened in the past that the old men were able to put up a stout fight and prolong their period of office, or that the young men have been able to oust their elders before their time was up, for might is often right in Naga life.'

To this statement, Dr J. H. Hutton added the following footnote, 'I remember a case in point occurring at Mongsenyimti. The 'generation' period used to be 30 years. In the course of a quarrel as to when the existing *lataw* were to vacate office, the successors were backed by the village and it was emphatically decided that the real period was not 30, but 25 years, in order to get the old men out. What will happen when the 25 years expire and the present holders find that they preferred to eat their cake in 1917, rather than keep it for 1942 remains to be seen.'

1942 duly came and as Dr. Hutton half expected, the councillors who had 'eaten their cake' in 1917 showed not the least desire to relinquish their offices 25 years later. But the younger generation was not so young that it did not remember 1917. Accordingly the customary quarrel ensued and in due course it was taken to the Subdivisional Officer. It was here that the older generation 'missed its step' for it had obviously counted without Dr Hutton. When D. M. Murray, who was then the Subdivisional Officer heard the case he immediately consulted *The Ao Nagas* and there in Dr. Hutton's footnote was the case itself. The claim of the younger generation was vindicated and an Assam monograph scored a not unworthy triumph.

W. G. ARCHER

THE NZUN-ZE SLEEPING-BENCH OF THE ZEMI NAGAS

THE traditional morung sleeping-bench of the Zemi is the *nzun-ze*, a massive piece of furniture carved from a single giant tree-trunk and often of very great size. An existing specimen in the lower morung at Khangnam in N. Cachar is 19"/7" long, 39" wide and 31" high, while another in the upper morung in the same village is considerably longer, though smaller in section. The labour of construction is enormous, as the *nzun-ze* resembles an ordinary composite plank sleeping-bench in form and all the redundant wood below the top, between the legs and among the struts of the elaborate front foot-rail, must be adzed out by hand, while the wood is always one of the hardest and most lasting available. An *nzun-ze* is usually made during the cold weather between harvest and jhum-felling, when there is most leisure. The necessary rough section from the felled tree is hauled to the village by the men of the morung and carved there, and the tools used are of the most primitive description, the small Zemi axes and adzes and perhaps a broken dao by way of a spokeshave. Only exceptionally strong morungs can afford to make an *nzun-ze* because of the tremendous manpower needed, and specimens, even small ones, are far from common. Besides the above-mentioned two in Khangnam, where a third is contemplated, there is one poor specimen in Hangnum and a fourth, of fair size, in one of the morungs of Nenglo. I have

not seen any among the Zemi villages in Manipur State and Naga Hills, though there are probably some there.

The *nzun-ze* was used for an interesting and now half-forgotten test of courage. Once such a test had been decided on the morung was prepared by scattering chopped-up plantain stems under the *nzun-ze* and hanging up the bucks' indigo-dyed, full dress kilts in its vicinity. The appropriate ceremony was then performed and the morung vacated at nightfall. The young men undertaking the test had to enter the building one by one in pitch darkness and, each man drawing a length of cord along with him, crawl the length of the *nzun-ze* through the pierced legs. By virtue of the incantations the plantain-stems over which the youth crawled had become the hacked and clammy bodies of dead men and the kilts and orchid-skin severed heads with gleaming teeth, while if any lad's nerve broke and he fled, the abandoned cord gave the game away.

Unfortunately the details and formulae of the accompanying ceremony have been lost and I have not found any Zemi surviving who has seen the test carried out.

URSULA BETTS

ABOR MUTILATION OF THE SLAIN

DURING a tour in the Abor country in North Assam, I discovered that when the Abors kill an enemy they do not take the head, but take the upper two joints of the second finger. There must be a link somewhere with the self-mutilation of other parts of the world, but as far as I know, it is the first time the practice has cropped up in this region and the only instance of its being used on other people besides oneself.

C. R. STONOR

USE OF A MODEL BELLOWS AND MODEL TIGER TO CURE THROAT-SICKNESS AMONG THE GAROS OF ASSAM

THE bellows used by blacksmiths of the Garo Tribe of Assam are of the 'Indonesian' type; consisting of a pair of upright bamboo cylinders, functioning as compression pumps. During April 1947, while visiting a remote village of the Matchi branch of the tribe, I noticed by the path leading into the village a roughly made model bellows, of bamboos a foot or so in length and three inches in diameter.

I enquired as to their purpose, and was told that they are occasionally used in magical cure of throat sickness. The model bellows are put up by the village priest: a small fire is kindled in front of them, and is blown up symbolically with a few strokes of the 'piston' by the priest.

A few leaves of the *mandal* tree (*Erythrina*), which is semi-sacred to the Garos are warmed over the little fire, and are applied by the priest to the throat of the sick man. The bellows are thereafter left to rot away.

The blowing up of the fire is purely symbolic, since the piston of the bellows is simple a long, tough leaf, twisted roughly to shape, with the stalk functioning as the handle.

The precise function of the bellows, and their significance in the ritual is not easy to follow, particularly in such cursory investigation. I am inclined to think they may be no more than part of the 'stock-in-trade' of the priest.

In the same area I also found a small and very crude model of an animal, with a gourd for the body, and head, and sticks for the legs. I was informed that it represented a tiger, and was put up as an offering to the spirits, by a man suffering from a cough. The information was volunteered that a tiger was chosen because of the connection between its growling voice and the voice of a man badly afflicted by a cough. Its use among the Garos is in-

teresting, as their fear of tigers is such that they are as a rule unwilling even to refer to them by name.

C. R. STONOR

THE ATTITUDE OF SEMA NAGAS TO DANCING BY WOMEN

WHILE I was camping in the Sema Naga country in April 1947, some old crones of Semilomi insisted on showing me a dance. Among Sema women, as Dr Hutton has observed, 'ugliness is the rule' and the dance was not a very grand affair. A few steps one way or another, some jerky arm movements 'simple and faithless as a smile or shake of the hand'—these appeared to be the sum of their choreographic technique.

A few days later I witnessed a very different display by the school-boys of the Zuneboto Middle English School. Since Christianity has engulfed the greater part of the tribe, ritual occasions for dancing no longer exist but the dance-forms are sedulously preserved in the schools as if they were museum pieces. And did these school-boys dance! They formed a long line, clad in the cowried aprons, the scarlet goats hair and the black circlets of the head-taker. They brandished spears with blood-red hafts, and then prancing, stamping and chanting a warrior's song they moved superbly round the circle.

Thinking that such a vivid show should not be restricted to one sex and that even rudimentary dancing was better than none. I wrote in my inspection note that Sema school-girls should also be induced to dance and that if necessary an old woman from Emilomi should be brought over to teach them. In due course this remark reached the ears of the Sema Tribal Council and when I was out camping in the Sema country, in September 1947, I was pained to learn that such a course was quite impossible. I thought at first that this was merely a stock Mission prohibition but when I said that there were limits to what even a Mission could ban, the Semas protested that even from ancestral times no Sema girls had danced. They went on to say that if a girl or woman danced, no head-taking raid would be successful, and accidents would dog the hunters in the jungle. They added that the women of Emilomi had had no business to break this taboo and that they would be severely punished if they did so again. When I pointed out that among other Naga tribes such as Konyaks and Aos, the women were allowed to dance at times, they replied, 'We do not know about the Konyaks, but as for the Aos, their girls are like cattle. They graze everywhere.'

Since dancing by Sema women is fully described by Dr Hutton—*The Sema Nagas* (London, 1921), p. 114—it is obvious that this prohibition is neither so general nor so venerable as the Sema Tribal Council asserts, and I am inclined to think that either it is a novel Christian precept slyly masquerading in an 'ancient' guise or it is at most a local taboo confined possibly to the Eastern portions of the Sema country. This, at any rate, is the only instance of a dancing taboo which I have come across in Indian tribes and it would be interesting to know if similar prohibitions on dancing by girls and women are current elsewhere and what consequences are expected to ensue if a group of women shakes itself free.

W. G. ARCHER

E. I. T. M. O.

NOVEMBER 16.—Formation of an organization to be called 'East Indian Tribals and Minorities Organization' (EITMO), which has just been announced, will have a bearing on Assam's politics. After a three day conference of leaders of all the Hill tribes of the Eastern Frontier of Indian

Dominion and Plains Tribals representing various areas of Assam Valley, as also other minority communities of Assam, held at Shillong it was unanimously decided to form a united organization.

A provisional Executive Committee has been set up to initiate the work of the organization with the following members: Mr A. MacDonald Kongor (Khasi), Prof. G. G. Swell (Khasi), Capt. Williamson Sangma (Garó), Mr Nalindra Sangma (Garó), Mr Bawichuaka (Lushai), Mr Dengthuama (Lushai), Mr Kevichusa (Naga), Mr Mayanguokcha (Naga), Mr J. B. Hakjan (Kachari), Mr B. N. Burman (Kachar), Mr Karka Dolay (Miri), Mr S. S. Engti (Mikir), Mr Dhaneswar Singh (Manipuri), Mr S. Buragohain Ex-Minister (Ahom), Prof. P. Sarwan (Tea Garden), Mr B. Sarwan (Tea Garden), Mr S. K. Chakma (Chittagong Hill Tracts), Mr S. C. Basumatari (Assam Plains Tribals League), and Mr R. Basumatari.

The following resolutions were passed at the general meeting of the conference held at the Khasi National Durbar Hall:—

'In view of the emergency of the situation of the Tribes of Assam, it is essential that a strong organization for the East Indian Tribals and minorities block to tackle with the present political situation for the purpose of safeguarding their inherent and legitimate rights and advancing their interests by various constructive means should be formed, and, this meeting sets up such an organization under the name 'East Indian Tribals and Minorities Organisation' (EITMO).'

'That Shillong be the Provisional Head Quarters of the EITMO and that the following be the skeleton of the constitution of the EITMO:—

'Object of the EITMO shall be to tackle the present situation for the purpose of safeguarding the rights and advancing the interests of the Tribes and Minorities in Eastern India. The organization shall have powers to affiliate Institutions and organizations of all Tribals and minority communities and the organizations affiliated to this body shall be required to pay an annual contribution of the sum of Rs. 25—besides the organization shall be entitled to receive donations and subscriptions from the public. A detailed constitution of this organization shall be framed on the lines suggested here by a Sub-Committee appointed by the Executive Committee and copies of it shall be sent to all the organizations affiliated to it.

'The Conference decided to raise a Volunteer Corps to execute and carry out the objectives of this organization.

The Conference view with great concern the panic prevailing among the people of Tripura State, owing to reported attempts to coerce the State into joining the Pakistan Dominion against the wishes of the people, and assured the people of the State of every kind of help in their efforts to resist any such aggression. Conference also urged the Assam Government and the Union Government to render immediate help necessary to the people of Tripura State in defending them against any external aggression.'

The Conference strongly resented the inclusion against the wishes of the people within the Pakistan Dominion of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, which is an excluded area, forming a natural part of Assam with a predominant indigenous population of whom 97 per cent are non-Muslims.

The Conference demanded the inclusion of the Partially Excluded areas of Mymensingh contiguous to the Garo Hills District and predominantly inhabited by the Garos within the boundaries of Assam, in order to bring their Tribal brothers under the same administrative unit and urged the Government of the Indian Dominion to take up the matter.

ADVISORY COUNCIL FOR LUSHAI HILLS

16 NOVEMBER 1947—The deadlock which was continuing in Lushai Hills on constitutional issues has at last ended as a result of intervention of H. E. the Governor of Assam. On the basis of an all-party agreement reached at a conference held at Shillong Government House, between re-

representatives of the different parties and organizations, Lushai Hills will shortly have an elected Advisory Council consisting of 37 members.

The conference which discussed the question of proportion of representation of Chiefs and commoners on Lushai Hills Advisory Council was presided over by the Governor and was attended by Sri G. N. Bardoloi, the Prime Minister, Rev. J. J. M. Nichols Roy, Mr. Walker, Adviser to the Governor for Tribal Areas, Mr. L. L. Peters, Superintendent of Lushai Hills, Miss L. Sailor, representative of the Mizo Union, the United Mizo Freedom Organization, the Lushai Chiefs Council, and Ex-Servicemen's Association.

The conference after detailed discussions reached the following agreement as regards the composition of the proposed Advisory Council:—

The Council is to consist of 37 members. The Chiefs are to have 10 seats reserved for them. There are to be 5 Urban seats—3 for Aijal and 2 for Lungleh. 2 seats are to go to women. The General seats can also be contested by the Chiefs.

Representatives of the Chiefs for the reserved seats, according to the agreement, are to be selected only by the exclusive votes of the Chiefs while for the general seats voting will be by household suffrage, no authorization by a householder to vote for him being allowed.

The Council will for the time being advise the Constitution-making body which will take into consideration the local conditions existing in their land. It will hereafter exercise the authority of Local Self-Government and have authority over taxation etc.

The Governor stated that his Government would be prepared to give fullest scope to the Council within the four corners of the Indian Independence Act and the Council could submit proposals to the Government of Assam through the Superintendent for the present.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY FOR KHASI & JAINTIA HILLS

15 NOVEMBER 1947—156 representatives are to be elected by universal adult franchise for the proposed Constituent Assembly of Khasi and Jaintia Hills which will include the heads of the various units, according to an announcement made here after the agreement reached between the Khasi States Federation and the Khasi-Jaintia Federated State National Conference for the formation of an Interim Government during the period of preparations for the setting up of a Constituent Assembly which will frame the future constitution of this district.

The Interim Government will consist of the heads of the Khasi States, 4 leaders representing the Khasi States Federation, 8 from the Federated States National Council, 4 to represent the non-State areas of Khasi Hills and 7 from Jaintia Hills who will include the present President of the Jaintia Darbar.

The proposed Constituent Assembly will consist of all the heads of the various units of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and of 156 elected representatives to be elected by universal adult franchise. The Interim Government is further charged with the task of framing of rules for the conduct of the election to the Constituent Assembly and the administration of the District in relevant matters.

The signatories to this agreement include amongst others, Olim Singh Siem of Khyriem, and President of the Khasi States Federation, Prof. Thomas, Rai Bahadur Ropmay, Rev. Nichols Roy, Mr Ameer Alley, Capt. Lyngdho, Mr Solomon and all the M.L.A.s.

EXERCISES IN TRANSLATION

THE following extracts from T.B. Naik's 'Some Folk Elements in Gujerat Culture' (*The Eastern Anthropologist*, September, 1947) will illustrate the difficulties which beset a translator whose knowledge of English idiom is not quite adequate for his purpose.

I

Cucumber thieves all,
Are other people's children,
My sweet little sister
She is a peacock, a swan
The peacocks eat pearls
Hopeless are other girls.

II

A swing on a tall mango tree
Is tried by my brother,
On it sat that girl
That girl with very big hips
She sat and the *Jhula* broke
With it she broke her bottoms too.

III

Something fell in water
And water became turbid
That girl of that street
Pats her curves and corners.

IV

A beautiful, fine bed-sheet ;
I am fair, the groom serpent-black.
A black groom and tasteless curd
The bloke doesn't utter a word !

In such circumstances, simple English prose would be a less treacherous medium.

W. G. ARCHER

HUMAN SACRIFICE SCARE

RAXAUL, 1 August.—The people living in several of the villages situated in the Kosi area in the Morang district are not allowing their children to peep out of the doors due to the currency of an obviously false rumour that 108 human lives will be sacrificed in connection with the starting of the work of construction of the Kosi dam for the success of the project.

The panic-stricken villagers are reported to have formed batches of guards to keep a watch on every unknown visitor to the villages. Village markets are closed and all the school-going boys of the villages have been forced to remain at home.

A doctor and a Government officer were recently the victims of the precautionary measures of the villagers and were overpowered by the village guard when they went to those villages. A zamindar of the village before whom they were produced with their limbs tied recognized them and secured their release.

KALI WORSHIPPERS SENTENCED

MADRAS, 13 September.—‘The worship of Kali and the Kali cult is a much misunderstood ritual and if people take it into their heads to appease the goddess by human sacrifice, in my opinion a deterrent sentence is called for.’

With these observations Mr Justice Govinda Menon confirmed, on appeal in the Madras High Court yesterday, the sentence of five years' rigorous imprisonment passed on two persons by the lower court on charges of attempted murder.

The accused, Thattbhayi and Venkataraman, according to the prosecution, kidnapped a nine-year-old boy from the village of Tuni in East Godavari in August last year and attempted to murder him by cutting off his head with a sword as an offering to the goddess Kali on New Moon day. The boy was, however, rescued.

They were tried by the Assistant Sessions Judge, East Godavari, who found them guilty, and sentenced them to five years' rigorous imprisonment.

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY AND ABORIGINALS

NEW DELHI, 30 September.—Provision for a separate Federal Department of tribal welfare in the constitution, reservation of seats in the Federal Legislature on the basis of the tribal population and the establishment of a special commission to inquire into the conditions of the scheduled and tribal areas, are among the main features of the final report which has been submitted by the Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas (other than Assam) Sub-Committee of the Indian Constituent Assembly.

The report also says that there should be a separate Minister for Tribal Welfare in the Central Provinces, Orissa and Bihar and that provision for this should be contained in the statute. A Tribal Advisory Council should be set up with a minimum of ten and a maximum of 25 members in Madras, Bombay, Bengal, Bihar, Central Provinces and Orissa, the report adds.

Other recommendations made by the Sub-Committee are: legislation in such matters as land and social customs should not be applied to scheduled areas if the Tribal Advisory Council advises to the contrary, tribal panchayats should be encouraged wherever possible, temperance propaganda should be carried on, there should be provision for control of money-lenders by a system of licensing, and persons belonging to tribals to non-tribals should be prohibited.

The only minute of dissent made by the Adibasi leader, Mr Jaipal Singh, to the Sub-Committee's report says: 'The Indian Government must claim back the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The Radcliffe Award must be altered in regard to them.'

The report will be discussed by the Advisory Committee before it is presented to the Constituent Assembly.

CRIMINAL TRIBES ACT

POONA, 6 October.—The Government of Bombay propose to scrap the Criminal Tribes Act of 1924, under which it is possible to confine large tribes of backward people into settlements and to restrict their movements, because it pre-supposes that criminal instincts are hereditary and condemns many for the faults of a few. The Act is to go two years after new legislation to replace it comes into force.

The new legislation, a Bill to make provision for restricting the movements of backward tribes in the province and for requiring them to report and for placing them in settlements, was moved today in the Bombay Legislative Assembly by the Home Minister, Mr Morarji R. Desai.

The Home Minister said that social reformers and thinkers agreed that it was not proper to condemn whole tribes to a life of confinement and that members of a tribe could all be criminal by heredity. It could not be said that crime was confined only to a particular section of the community.

A Committee appointed by the Congress Government in 1939 to go into the ways of the Criminal Tribes Act, under the chairmanship of Mr K. M. Munshi, he said, had refused to accept the theory that the so-called criminal tribes were inherently criminal and that no attempt to improve them or alter their habits could succeed. That Committee had recommended that the Act must be replaced by legislation on the lines of the

Punjab Habitual Offenders Act. The Home Minister claimed the new measure to be reformative, educative and also penal.

The first reading of the Bill was under discussion when the Assembly rose for the day.

ABORIGINAL RISING IN NILGIRI STATE

I

CUTTACK, 28 October.—The news of a serious uprising among the aboriginals of Nilgiri State is being received in Cuttack. Mr Kailash Chandra Mahanti, President of the Nilgiri Praja Mandal, in the course of a telegram alleging that these aboriginals have the backing of the ruler, says that it made it impossible for the peace-loving people of Nilgiri State to live in the State. The standing crops in the villages are being indiscriminately 'looted and attempts are being made to set fire to houses.'

Mr Mahanti further alleges that the Nilgiri State Police, instead of taking due cognizance of these offences, are 'rather instigating' them to commit violence and the aboriginals are seen frequently using the Nilgiri State flag and their own flag, which is black in colour, in their processions and 'using the Raja's own guns' besides using bows and arrows.

Another report, which is unofficial, stated that a contingent of the Joint Police of the Eastern States Union had been despatched to Nilgiri.

Nilgiri State is adjacent to the Balasore District. It is understood that the Nilgiri situation is now the subject of high-level telegraphic correspondence between the States Ministry of the Government of India and the Government of India and the Orissa Government on the question of intervention by the Indian Government in the matter.

In the village of Ajogra yesterday ten villagers are stated to have been injured by arrows. Five of the injured have been admitted to Nilgiri hospital and one of them is lying in a precarious condition.

II

BALASORE, 4 November—A tense situation is developing in Nilgiri State in Orissa, where aborigines are stated to be cutting down standing crops in villages and attacking people with dangerous weapons.

Mr Sarangdhar Das, President of the Regional Council of the Orissa and C.P. States, visited Balasore recently and addressed a mass meeting on the Balasore-Nilgiri border, asking the people to defend their freedom and not to leave their homes.

After giving an account of conditions in Nilgiri State, Mr Das promised the full support of the Council to the people in their freedom fight.

Five hundred *adibasis* assisted by the goonda element of the town, had been terrorizing the countryside. They had been cutting down ripe paddy from the fields and attacking the people with arrows. A public meeting was broken up, some of these marauders appearing at the meeting with weapons. There had been several cases of looting and one case of attempted arson. Four men were reported to have been killed and more than 15 wounded.

Adibasis of Mayurbhanj, Bonai, Khairapur and Sareikella were being organized and incited. Mr Das strongly urged the Orissa Government, as well as the India Government, to give immediate importance to the issue before it spread to other States, many of which had large aboriginal populations.

REVIEWS

VERRIER ELWIN, *The Muria and their Ghotul*, Pp. xxxii and 730, 150 plates, 146 line drawings, 9 maps, 3 coloured plates. Oxford University Press. Price Rs. 25.

It is not too much to say that this is a book which will inevitably influence anthropological field work for many years to come. Writers of the filder school have tended either to deal seriatim with the various institutions of a tribal culture or to concentrate on one institution in a greater or less degree of isolation from other. Both these methods are apt to lead to distortion, the one by flattening out the tribal landscape, as it were, and the other by directing the gaze to a single peak. Dr Verrier Elwin has avoided both these errors and, while selecting for special study the most important feature of Muria culture is at pains to show how every other part of their life links up with it. The Muria are a tribe of some 100,000 souls inhabiting the northern part of Bastar State, where wise administration has hitherto preserved them from disintegration and ruin. Their most important institution is the Ghotul or village dormitory, and in order to show how this is related to other aspects of Muria life the author devotes the first part of his book to a study of their general pattern of society. In doing so he takes the reader through Muria life from birth to death, concluding with a detailed account of the various legends of Lingo Pen, the mythical founder of the ghotul.

The institution of village dormitories is widely spread throughout the world and in no way peculiar to the Muria. Their ghotul is essentially a night club, but yet it is closely integrated with the daily life of the village. To it all unmarried boys (chelik) and girls (motiari) must belong, and members are given graded rank and special titles and duties, making of each ghotul a little realm of the young. A remarkable feature is the division into two contrasting types as far as sexual life is concerned. In the one, which the author shows to be the older, the fundamental principle is fidelity to a single partner throughout the pre-marital period. In the other type the changing of partners is compulsory and any chelik who sleeps with a particular motiari for more than three nights at a time is punished. The latter type has been superseding the former for a long time, and is now by far the commoner. Certainly it is more in accordance with the strong feeling that jealousy and possessiveness are wrong which is such a striking feature of ghotul life and contributes so much to its happiness. Discipline in the ghotul is strict and members have heavy public duties to perform, especially at marriages, but there is plenty of love-making, games and laughter, and boys and girls alike regard the ghotul with passionate devotion.

The author shows conclusively that an institution which might well seem to the ignorant to be licentious is nothing of the sort. Everything is conducted with the utmost decorum. Nor does ghotul life 'unsettle' the members. 'The life of pre-nuptial freedom ends in a longing for security and permanence' and Muria marriages are models of stability. 'Muria life may be described as having in its pre-nuptial period many of the features of Huxley's *Brave New World*, but in its post-nuptial period the atmosphere of the poems of Tennyson.'

On the writing of this outstanding book immense labour has been expended, but it has been a labour of love, for without love for the Muria the secrets of their ghotul could never have been learnt. The result is a text and illustrations which give an unrivalled picture, of outstanding interest alike to the anthropologist and general reader, of a balanced, happy community as yet untouched by the miseries of the civilized world.

J. P. MILLS

THE JAPANESE

RUTH BENEDICT, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*. Pp. 324. Secker and Warburg, 1947. Price Rs. 12-6-0.

In this fascinating and unusual book Dr Ruth Benedict considers the problem of the Japanese people. The Japanese were the most alien enemy the United States have ever fought in an all-out struggle. The war in the Pacific was more than an unsurpassed problem in logistics. It was a major problem in the nature of the enemy. 'We had to understand their behaviour in order to cope with it.'

Perhaps the greatest difficulty in understanding Japan lies in the astonishing contradictions of its people's character. Both the sword and the chrysanthemum are part of the picture. 'The Japanese are, to the highest degree, both aggressive and unaggressive, both militaristic and aesthetic, both insolent and polite, rigid and adaptable, submissive and resentful of being pushed around, loyal and treacherous, brave and timid, conservative and hospitable to new-ways. They are terribly concerned about what other people will think of their behaviour, and they are also overcome by guilt when other people know nothing of their misstep. Their soldiers are disciplined to the hilt but are also insubordinate.'

Dr Benedict analyses the reasons for these and many other contradictions and contrasts: she describes, for example, the need felt by every Japanese to avoid being shamed—a need which has led to the minimising of the competitive element in schools, lest the unsuccessful should commit suicide. She outlines the rigid system of loyalties and obligations which in relation to individuals and to social strata, which condition the whole structure of Japanese society and find their apex in worship of and utter obedience to the Emperor. She shows how, in direct contrast to Western practice, the liberty of the Japanese is greatest in childhood and is progressively curtailed in a strait jacket of prescribed behaviour handed down from generation to generation. It is interesting to find that in the last century the Japanese Government created State industries, only to hand them over to private when they had achieved prosperity.

The Japanese character revealed itself during the war in many unexpected ways. The Japanese were expected not only to fight to win, but to behave with the utmost courtesy for fear that the world would laugh at them. Prisoners spoke freely, for they had never been instructed what to say—it being assumed that no Japanese soldier could be captured alive. They regarded the safety devices in the American B-29's and fighter planes as signs of cowardice and could not understand American insistence on salvaging damage warships or even of treating the wounded. Care of the sick was an interference with heroism. 'The most melodramatic difference in behaviour between Western soldiers and the Japanese was undoubtedly the co-operation the latter gave to the Allied forces as prisoners of war. They knew no rules of life which applied to this new situation; they were dishonoured and their life as Japanese was ended.'

Dr Benedict, however, did not confine her enquiries to the soldiers. Even more interesting is her account of Japanese social and personal life. She has a delightful chapter on 'The Circle of Human Feelings' in which she describes the Japanese love of the hot bath—side by side with the hardening routine of cold douches, the accomplished art of sleeping, the scientific and artistic approach to food, the complicated traditions of the geisha girl and the prostitute. The Japanese philosophy of 'human feelings,' 'cuts the ground from under the Occidental philosophy of two powers, the flesh and the spirit, continually fighting for supremacy in each human life. In Japanese philosophy the flesh is not evil. Enjoying its possible pleasures is no sin.'

This scholarly, sensitive and revealing book is one of the most important contributions to social anthropology in recent years.

THE SUBANSIRI REGION

C. VON FURER-HAIMENDORF, *Ethnographic Notes on the Tribes of the Subansiri Region*. Pp. 61, map. Assam Government Press.

These notes were written at various dates during the author's appointment as Special Officer, Subansiri in 1944 and 1945. They are of special importance in view of the fact that the author 'had then the opportunity of establishing close and friendly contact with tribes practically unknown to the outside world, and of entering tribal country never before visited by European or Indian.' The book consists of a number of separate articles, each laden with factual material. The first is a series of Notes on the tribal groups in the Subansiri region—Dafas, Hill Miris, Raus, Rishi-Mashi, Nidu-mora, Chikum-Dui, Sulus, and Apa Tanis. There are then a number of papers on the Apa Tanis, some of which have already appeared in *Man in India*, Vol. XXVI. They are followed by an important account of 'Trade and Barter among the Tribesmen of the Kamla Region' and the book concludes with a paper on 'Problems of Administration and Culture-Change in the Subansiri Region.' This last paper contains much wise counsel which could be followed with profit by administrators both in Assam and elsewhere. Dr C. von Furer-Haimendorf recognizes that isolation is no longer possible and that new and difficult problems will arise. The new order will 'undoubtedly lead to a gradual disappearance of tribal culture—a process which calls for careful guidance if it is to benefit the hillmen . . . Too often, however, the anthropologist's role has been that of a physician called in to diagnose a disease when it has progressed beyond hope of cure.'

A valuable and important addition to our knowledge of unexplored India.

MORE SONGS FROM CHHATTISGARH

S. C. DUBE, *Field Songs of Chhattisgarh*. Pp. xviii, 95. Illustrated with lino-cuts by L. M. Sen. Universal Publishers, Lucknow, 1947. Price Rs. 3-12-0.

Dr Dube has been unfortunate in his publishers. His often beautiful translations are marred with misprints, and poetry, as A. E. Housman used to remind George Meredith with acerbity, is of all types of literature the one where no misprint can be allowed. Moreover, the songs which give the book its title are sandwiched between two bits of mediocre irrelevance; they are introduced by some anthropological journalism by Dr D. N. Majumdar in which he gives us a few facts about the United Provinces but tells us nothing at all about Chhattisgarh; and there is a tail-piece by the same author—20 pages, or one third of the book, of quite unreadable tales from the *Chhattisgarh*. The transliteration of the originals of these tales is unscientific and the translation runs like this:—'Then wild dogs to make path very hard jointly rubbed their hips on land and by rubbing hips wore out completely. But even a bit not they could make path—it is not likely that this part of the book will be of value to students of either linguistics or folk-lore.'

But Dr Dube's own share in this curious miscellany is of a much higher order. Dr Dube, who has recently been awarded his doctorate for an excellent thesis on the Kamars (parts of which are being published in *Man in India*) introduces his translations with a brief account of the main types of song known in Chhattisgarh and at several points supplements Dr Verrier Elwin's earlier *Folk-Songs of Chhattisgarh*. He describes the Dadaria, the Karma Nachori and Sua-geet, the Danda-geet of the Rawats, the Bans-geet of the Dewars, marriage, Diwali and small-pox songs and the long epics, several of which have been previously recorded in different forms by Crooke, Temple and Elwin.

Dr Dube's translations will rank high among those done by scholars who have to work in two foreign languages—for he has to translate out of

one alien language into another, a very difficult task. The quality of his work will best be illustrated by a few examples of the shorter poems, where he is at his happiest.

1

When the rains come,
Green grass grows on the earth.
Moisten with tears the tale of your woe,
Then they will move him, O girl.

2

Peep from the window,
There is yet an hour to sunset.
My sweetheart is coming homeward,
With hasty eager steps.

3

The crops are rich,
Every evening the drum beats,
How happy is the village,
O how happy is the man.
Whose pretty wife has firm and rounded breasts.

Unfortunately, the documentation of the songs is incomplete and we have no means of knowing, for example, whether the above are Dabira or some other kind of song. There is an interesting contrast between Dr Dube's song on p. 30 with Elwin's version at p. 97 of *Folk-Songs of Chhattisgarh*. Similarly, the legends of Dhola and Chandena may be compared with the versions obtained by Elwin—the story of Chandena was also recorded by Beglar and Karmacharya.

W. V. Grigson. Dr Dube will continue his work in folk-literature, for he obviously has a gift both for its collection and translation.

FATHER KOPPERS' TRAVEL BOOK

WILHELM KOPPERS, *Geheimnisse des Dschungels*. Pp. 256, plates 36, Josef Stocker, Luzern, 1947.

After a long asylum in Switzerland, Dr W. Koppers has at last produced this pleasant travel book describing the visit he made to India in 1938-9. This visit was partly subsidized by the Rockefeller Foundation and his book is a testimony to the cultural sympathies of that great institution. Dr. Kopper's research was unfortunately overshadowed by the war and was interrupted when, for a short time, he found himself 'externed by Hitler and interned by the English.'

For most of his stay he investigated the culture of the Bhils around Rambhapur, near Indore, and supplemented this by a study of those in West Khandesh, Udaipur and Kolhapur. His account is written in a chatty popular manner, which is not very different from Catholic Fathers, the sections concerning the religion and beliefs of the Bhils contain careful and close observation, while those on Death and Disease are of particular interest.

In the course of his journeys, Dr Koppers comments on the Korkus, Nahals, the Gonds and Baigas and even when on holiday at Simla he looks at the town with an anthropologist's eye.

The book is well illustrated and has some pleasing photos.

THE CHALLENGE OF BACKWARDNESS

W. V. GRIGSON, *The Challenge of Backwardness*. Pp. v, 124. One plate. Government Press, Hyderabad, 1947.

Mr W. V. Grigson is one of those rare people who has never allowed a high official position to obscure his desire for justice or his interest in the individual under-dog. This book reveals, even more than his *Maria Gonds of Bastar*, his love for the ordinary man and his attempts to win for him a square deal.

The Challenge of Backwardness is in the main a book of reprints. It contains a chapter 'The Aboriginal Tribes of Hyderabad,' which originally appeared as the foreword to C. von Furer-Haimendorf's *The Chenchus*. Chapter II, 'Aboriginal Crime' is the foreword to Verrier Elwin's *Maria Murder and Suicide*. Chapter III is a tour diary—and a very interesting one—of a trip paid by the author to the Adilabad District in 1938. Chapter IV is another diary of days spent in the Warangal and Kirmnagar Districts, and Chapter V describes expeditions in the Mahbubnagar, Nalgonda, Raichur and Aurangabad Districts. Chapter VI, 'The Aboriginal in the Future India,' was read originally as a paper before the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1946, was published by the *R. A. I.* as a special pamphlet and was reproduced in *Man in India*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 88 ff. The last chapter, entitled 'The Depressed Classes of Hyderabad' contains 'a few very randomized and brief extracts from tour notes' and ends with a verbatim reproduction of a speech made by the author in the Hyderabad Legislative Assembly. An Appendix gives the text of the Tribal Areas Dastur-ul-Amal of 1947, a bill 'to provide for the better administration of the tribal areas in H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions.'

The key-note of the book is given in such sentences as 'We have no time to lose in putting our aborigines on their feet and enabling them to face the future as sturdy, self-reliant citizens . . . It is imperative without delay to arrest the present "loss of nerve" among the aborigines and to do all possible to restore and strengthen their self-respect.'

FOLK-ART OF BENGAL

AJIT MOOKERJEE, *Folk Art of Bengal*. 70 pp. 42 plates, Calcutta University, 1946. Price Rs. 7-8.

AJIT MOOKERJEE, *Museum Studies*. 63 pp. 1 plate, Calcutta University, 1945. Price Re. 1.

For many years, Mr Ajit Mookerjee has been a careful collector of folk-art and an unusually sensitive interpreter of its form and content. *Folk Art of Bengal* is a new and revised edition of what is now a standard work. Originally published in 1939, it gives a survey of all the main types of folk-art current in Bengal. These include kanthas or embroidered cloths, alipanas or painted floor-patterns, terracotta figures, wooden dolls, scroll paintings, funerary posts and painted dishes. On all these subjects Mr. Mookerjee has interesting things to say and as a bird's eye view of a large and important subject, his book could hardly be bettered.

Museum Studies is a vigorous and challenging essay on what is perhaps the most neglected type of institution in India. Mr Mookerjee points out that many Indian museums are little more than godowns, their contents are wretchedly exhibited and the visitor is given next to no guidance in understanding what he sees. The modern American museum, on the other hand 'provides all the features of a well-worked laboratory and has in fact become a people's university.' In Great Britain, the London County Council arranges special museum classes while in Russia significant experiments have been made in popularising museums and associating the people with their management. Mr Mookerjee then reproduces the recommendations of the Markham and Hargreaves committee on Indian museums, he adds a list of museum 'games,' he suggests a number of subjects for museum lectures and summarizes some pertinent information on the preservation of antiques. This is an essay which if, at times, a little faulty in its English, deserves to be read not only by Curators of Museums and by their Managing Committees but by all those who care for India's cultural heritage and would like to see it fittingly exhibited and preserved.

W. G. ARCHER

THE HINDU TEMPLE

STELLA KRAMRISCH, *The Hindu Temple*. 2 vols, 466 pp, 80 plates by Raymond Burnier, Calcutta University, 1946. Price Rs. 90.

DR STELLA KRAMRISCH has for long held a unique position in Indian studies. Her vast learning, her unrivalled knowledge, her altogether exceptional taste and sensibility—these have made her the foremost interpreter of Indian art to-day.

In this latest volume, she examines the Hindu temple in the light of Hindu theology and by a copious use of Sanskrit texts, expounds the intricate ideas which at an early date determined its structure. The Hindu temple, she points out, is essentially 'the seat, abode and body of divinity.' Its inner sanctuary—the 'womb' or 'germ'—contains the god whose presence infuses the whole building. Above the sanctuary rises the superstructure which has 'the height of a spire and fulfills the function of a roof' while surrounding the main shrine are minor complementary halls. Each of these buildings is made in accordance with strictly prescribed proportions. Each has its own architectural rhythm. Above all, each shares a single common purpose—to instil in the visitor such a mood or emotion as will assist him in his search for the divine.

But if this purpose underlies the architecture, the same objective is made even more articulate through the sculpture. These carvings, Dr Kramrisch insists, do not distract the eye from the main effect of the building. 'In the strong light of the Indian day the plastic detail is absorbed into the texture of the monument.' At the same time each sculpture has a place in the total plan. Each is charged with significance and it is in fact through a combination of its sculpture and its architecture that the temple accomplishes its task.

The sculptures which sustain this vital role fall into a number of distinct types. There are, first, the main images which depict in various forms the deity enshrined in the temple. These are situated either at the entrance to the sanctuary or in some of the main niches. The next consist of the guardians of the entrance of space while (The remaining images portray a number of celestial divinities.' *Surasundaris*, for example, are 'celestial beauties' or 'Attractions' who exemplify through their bodies the principle of Sakti or Energy. Their function is to purify pilgrims by stimulating and at the same time satisfying desire. 'They serve man the devotee; they satisfy his response to them, so that increased in power, released from their attractions and transformed, he proceeds in his devotion towards God in the innermost sanctuary.' Another closely related type is the *apsara* or celestial dancer who is also an embodiment of female beauty. But even more significant are sculptures depicting couples 'in close embrace.' 'This state of being a couple (*mithuna*),' Dr Kramrisch points out, is a symbol of the most intense of religious experiences—*moksha* or final release. 'Just as a man closely embraced by a beloved woman knows nothing more of a without or a within, so also does the spiritual person of a man embraced by the Spirit know nothing more of a without or a within.' It is in order to suggest the final beatitude that lovers in all their tense and straining postures appear again and again on the temple face.

It will be obvious from this summary that if only as a revelation of the basic ideas determining the Hindu temple, this book is of cardinal importance. Dr Kramrisch however is not content merely to expound; she is equally concerned to illustrate. Besides a long and detailed text, *The Hindu Temple*, contains 80 large plates executed with superb photographic skill by Mr Raymond Burnier. These plates not only illustrate Dr Kramrisch with material for some brilliant aesthetic criticism. They set a new standard in the interpretation of Indian sculpture. The photography of sculpture is similar in many ways to the translation of a poem. It is in essence the interpretation of an original in terms of another, altogether different medium.

But just as in the case of poetry, a good translation conveys the literal meaning of the original and at the same time its beauty, a good photograph records the shape of its subject in such a way that its full beauty is exposed. Compared with the enchanting loveliness of Mr Burnier's plates, even the best of previous photographs seem dull, listless and prosaic.

It is in the light of these entrancing studies that Dr Kramrisch's remarks gain added meaning. As a critic, Dr Kramrisch has always employed two methods and these are fully exploited in her present book. Occasionally, for example, she evokes the spirit of a work of art through a subtle poetic phrase—'her youth in every curve, her feline sadness in her tortuous rapture.' 'Night and decay scream from deep hollows.' 'All these faces shine; they have a silent radiance of which the lips tell nothing nor do the eyes ever smile. No glance is cast. Brows are raised in perennial wonderment. Under their arches, the eyes gaze out into unknown distance.' At other times, she closely analyses the formal constituents, showing how one line links up with another and how in fact the total rhythm of the work is created. Writing of a woman and tree motif (plate XVIII), for example, she describes how a wave of rhythm 'ascends from the woman's left toes, magnificently places her leg, turns, curves her back and rises in one sweep, comprising arms and head, to find its way down where the ball is about to drop from her hand and the stem of the tree bends to the right.' This is admirably precise criticism and no one can look at the plate in the light of this sentence without having his appreciation widened. But even when she is most analytical, Dr Kramrisch is acutely aware that in the greatest sculpture rhythm also enhances the content. In a note on a *surasundari* (plate XII), she shows how the curve of a bowl leads along the arm which supports it creating not merely an effect of rhythm but stressing the essential attitude of the figure. 'In the bowl of this arm, the goddess proffers her body and gesture.' It is through remarks as perceptive as this that Dr Kramrisch shows her critical power.

This is a book which by its scholarly text, its critical sensitivity and its brilliant plates will revolutionize the appreciation of medieval Indian sculpture and make possible a totally new evaluation.

W. G. ARCHER

JAPANESE POETRY

ARTHUR WALEY, *Japanese Poetry*. 110 pp. 2nd Edition, Lund Humphries & Co., London, 1946.

THE appearance of Arthur Waley's *Japanese Poetry* in a second edition is at once a tribute to the enterprise of his new publishers, Messrs. Lund Humphries, and an event of marked significance for students and translators of Indian poetry.

Japanese poetry, Arthur Waley points out, is virtually confined to a pair of extremely small and rigid verse-forms. 'The *tanka*,' he says, 'is a poem of five lines. The first and third lines contain five syllables; the rest, seven. It is in this form that almost all Japanese poetry is written.' 'It might have been expected that the Japanese, having confined themselves for centuries to the five-line *uta*, would at length have grown impatient of its restrictions, and embarked on wider seas. Paradoxically, they pursued an opposite course. The five lines were contracted to three, and the *hokku* of seventeen syllables became the standard metre of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.'

In this new edition, Arthur Waley presents 159 *uta*, giving the Japanese original in one column and an English translation in the next. He also provides a short grammar and vocabulary and the result is that, with a little effort, the reader can not only enjoy the originals, but what is of great importance, can understand and test the methods of translation. These

methods are particularly relevant to anyone who aspires to translate Indian poetry. They emphasise the role of assonance in poetic effects. They illustrate the crucial place of rhythm in free verse. Above all they demonstrate the importance of not merely choosing the best words but of putting them in the best order.

Take for example, the following *uta* :

The time I went to see my sister
Whom I loved unendurably
The winter night's
River-wind was so cold that
The sanderlings were crying.

A translation such as this depends for its beauty partly on the repetition of a common vowel in words such as 'sister,' 'winter,' 'river,' 'wind' and 'sanderling,' partly on the nerved rhythm of each line and partly on the translator having so selected the words that they are not merely literal equivalents of the Japanese, but are also musical and effective in the English content or consider yet another version.

The men of valour
Have gone to the honourable hunt:
The ladies
Are trailing their red petticoats
Over the clean sea-beach.

If any reader is inclined to disparage free verse as being altogether 'too simple' or 'too easy,' let him consider the effects of substituting 'women' or 'girls' for 'ladies,' 'dragging' or 'pulling' for 'trailing,' 'pink,' 'scarlet' or 'crimson' for 'red,' 'shifts' or 'under-garments' for 'petticoats' or even, 'beach' for 'sea-beach.'

But besides providing an object-lesson in the art of translation, the book suggests a number of important parallels between Indian folk-songs and Japanese poetry. In many cases *uta* verses are either epigrams, witticisms, conceits or even 'jocular acrostics'—poems, in fact, which only highly sophisticated persons would feel inclined to write. At the same time, various others seem to derive from an altogether different kind of poetical tradition and to employ conventional symbols which are astonishingly akin to those of Indian folk-song. In Santal poetry, for example, the union of lovers is symbolized by the phrase 'picking flowers.' In the following three poems 'flower-viewing' seems to carry an identical meaning.

The autumn wind
Has grown cold ;
Bridle to bridle
Come ! let us go to the moor
To the flower viewing of the lezpedz !
Though the months and days which have passed
Fruitlessly
Have been many,
The spring time I have spent flower—viewing is little indeed !
If I were to spend the night
On the moor-side where abound
Lady flowers,
Fruitlessly for lewdness
Should I have a reputation.

In Uraon poems, the koel or Indian cuckoo is often a symbol for a girl. In the following *uta*, the Japanese commentary notes, 'He speaks in parable to a girl that had many hearts.'

O cuckoo
Because the villages where you sing
are so many,
I am estranged from you, even
In the midst of my love !

In yet another *uta*, we have only to change 'plum-tree' to 'mango' and the poem becomes indistinguishable from a marriage song of the Uraons.

The young plum-tree
Of my house
Which in bygone years
I dug up by the roots and transplanted
Has at last bloomed with flowers.

In a similar way the use of 'deer' as a symbol for a lover seems as characteristic of Japanese poems as it is of Gond, Muria or Dogra.

In this mountain-village
Woken from sleep
By the wind in the rice-leaves
Deep in the night the deer's
Voice. Lo! I hear.
The under leaves of the lespedeza
When the dew is gathering
Must be cold :
In the autumn moor
The young deer are crying.

Even when the imagery itself is different the construction of the poem is at times suggestive of Indian songs.

If he for whom I have waited
Should even now end by coming,
What should I do ?
He will be wanting to tread
The fresh snow of the garden.

Between 'treading the fresh snow' and such Indian phrases as 'digging roots' 'driving an arrow' and 'cutting wood' there is no essential difference for in their various contexts; all seem equally to be symbols of the act of sex.

This is a book which no one interested in the art of contemporary translation can afford to neglect while as a storehouse of images and methods, it opens up new vistas in Asiatic poetry.

W. G. ARCHER

PRIMITIVE SCULPTURE

W. G. ARCHER, *The Vertical Man, a study in primitive Indian sculpture*. 122 pp., 49 plates, map. London, Allen and Unwin, 1947. Price Rs. 12-8.

It is a commonplace of history that the genesis of poetry and art is almost invariably be traced to religious and economic needs. In most cases, however, this relationship can no longer be analysed at first hand. In civilized communities, art has lost its religious significance and it is only in primitive societies that it retains a ritual function.

In *The Vertical Man*, W. G. Archer goes back to the origins of sculpture. He takes a primitive community—the Ahirs of South-west Bihar—and shows how two distinct styles of sculpture reflect the needs of a people whose lives are bound up with the welfare and fecundity of their cattle. He points out that the starting-point for all the images is the cult of a cattle-god, Bir Kuar, and through a detailed analysis of the myth, he shows that whether we regard the story as an actual history or as a purely imaginary creation, it serves to symbolise some vital aspects of Ahir economy. These aspects are reflected in the styles and whether the sculpture is in stone or wood, all the images have a certain common trait—a quality which Archer has termed 'vital geometry.' This quality is neither the result of inexperience nor of incompetence. The sculptors are peasants with little time for intricate carving and a degree of simplification is therefore imposed upon them as a necessary condition of their work. The style, however, is only one of several conditioning factors. The Ahir cattle-hero which the sculpture portrays has three distinct facets and it is these which constitute, as it were, the Ahir

demands on the sculpture. These demands are summarized by Archer as follows. 'The first is that the type must exude a supernormal power, and after this it may stress either of Bir Kuar's attributes—his vigilant defence of the herds, his kindly strength or, finally, his tragic doom. The demand is in other words, for a style which conveys the ideas of power with vigilance, power with kindness and, finally, power with doom.

'If we consider what type of style can best fulfil these needs, it is obvious that a style of vital geometry is much the most potent. The style has to show Bir Kuar as simplified into certain attributes and without a radical simplification of forms these basic aspects would not emerge. Similarly his appearance is to be distorted to emphasize his power. For conveying this sense of power, geometric distortions are obviously suitable since it is with certain geometric forms that power is normally associated.

'But besides portraying power, the style must show the power as supernormal. For this a literal style would be of little relevance since it would at most display the god as human. A geometric style through the very fact that it is anti-imitational conveys the feeling of supernatural power.'

The primitive sculpture of West Bihar is in fact neither accidental nor the result of a failure in skill. Its two styles fulfil exactly all the needs of a myth.

The publication of this monograph is an event of major importance. Hitherto looks on Indian art have never attempted to go beyond the study of what may be called the 'official' schools of sculpture. In this pioneer work, we are in a different world altogether, a world with strange and fascinating possibilities. It is true that Archer has confined himself to the critical presentation of the primitive sculpture of a comparatively narrow region in Bihar. But the law of probability demands that there must be many other regions with their own primitive styles. *The Vertical Man* opens up a new field in the study of Indian art and should give an impetus to the writing of other monographs on the primitive art of regions that have hitherto remained unexplored.

It is an ironical comment on the quality of art criticism in India that these arresting works of art have never been noticed by students of Indian art before. Appreciation of art has mostly confined itself to uncritical enthusiasm à la Walter Pater over the picturesque and pretty elements in works of art. Attention has been drawn to the 'naturalness' of figures, the grace and slender beauty of temple images and criticism has generally lost itself in the intricate jungle of the decorative and unessential, so that it is not the form but ulterior elements that have been stressed and used as artistic criteria. Archer has very rightly departed from these all too facile methods of evaluating sculpture and has narrowed down the critic's function to that of interpreting those aspects of a work which contribute to the plastic totality—to the inter-relationship between lines and volumes in as far as they build up with their crude but vital geometry the total impression of a unified and living work of art. It may be said that he has been lucky in the choice of his subject, that the type of sculpture with the photographs of which his volume is so lavishly interposed, does not admit of those picturesque and poetical appreciations with which one associates the names of Ruskin and Pater, but keeps the critical attention confined to the analysis of what is definitely unpicturesque and 'ugly.' It is, as a matter of fact, in the 'discovery' of these works of art, and his refusal to wander away from their purely artistic elements that he shows his critical acumen. It requires the right type of intelligence to get interested in them, to realise that what appears to the untutored eye ugly, infantile, weirdly grotesque and unpleasing is actually more aesthetically satisfying, more 'sculpture' than many of those merely decorative or picturesque pieces which so often pass for carving.

It may be pointed out here that the term 'primitive' applies to the sensibility and has no chronological significance. The primitive sculptors, whose work is represented in *The Vertical Man* start with a rejection of all the realistic as non-essential elements of appearance and by a rigorous simpli-

fication arrive at something close to essential plastic form. The sculpture is the result of an interplay between tradition, undeviated sensibility and the capacities and limitations of the raw material they have to deal with. It is not so much the crystallization for an urge to create an aesthetically satisfying object as the fulfilment through an artistic medium of certain religious, social and economic needs.

It will be obvious from the above paragraph that with this tendency to simplification any variations bring about an essential change, a redistribution of significant stresses so that uniformity and monotony are completely avoided, and in spite of traditional conventions the individual sensibility has great scope for self-expression. On the other hand in most temple sculpture, in the numerous versions of Nataraja the variations have generally a decorative value and the impression they create is one of monotony. All the figures photographed in *The Vertical Man* represent a single individual only and yet there is such an artistic variety, such important differences, making one think of the Diabelli Variations on a theme of Beethoven's.

The affinities of this art with Negro, Maya and some modern sculpture are obvious. Unlike a good deal of Indian folk-art, most of the images are neither naive nor childish. They express emotional maturity and sometimes a serene sense of strength or tragedy. But they have none of that intense and brooding passionateness found in Negro art or that tortured and tragic sense of the gulf between man and his gods that characterises Maya sculpture. In the technique, too, there is an absence of the intricate and involuted patterning, the tortured geometry of the soul that differentiates Negro and American sculpture from that of other countries. The worshipper of Bir Kuar are comparatively placid social beings, very much aware of the world around them and of their simple religious and economic needs.

The sub-title, 'a study in primitive Indian sculpture' is slightly misleading because the book serves a dual function. It studies an art but it also studies a living cult and shows how they are dependent upon each other and how one gives its peculiar shape to the other. The analysis of the cult of Bir Kuar and the festivals associated with it is in itself extremely fascinating. *The Vertical Man* is a book that all lovers of art and anthropology should possess.

FAZLUR RAHMAN

MAN IN INDIA✓

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NOTES ON THE STONE AGE IN INDIA

By

CHRISTOPH VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF

In his book *Mankind so Far* William Howells begins the section on India with the following passage: 'If the reader finds that he has confused ideas about India he need not be abashed because there seems to be nobody living who has clear ones. The ignorance regarding the nature of her peoples is profound and that regarding her ancient past is almost complete. The anthropologist at present can only look at the surface and attempt the obvious, which would be to say that the extremes in her racial nature are poles apart, and then to try to identify the poles.' Such a statement from the pen of a prominent and resourceful American scholar, whose book contains a successful analysis of the sequence of cultures and differentiation of races from the stone age to modern times in many parts of the world, should cause a good deal of heart-searching among anthropologists working in India. Do we really know nothing of India's most ancient past? In so far as the racial character of the sub-continent's earliest inhabitants is concerned, we must indeed plead ignorance, but when it comes to their cultural manifestations our knowledge, though slight, cannot be considered completely negligible.

In the following notes I have tried to trace in rough outline the various stages of the stone age in India and it will be seen that however scanty the existing archaeological material it does enable us to discern a sequence of cultures not unlike that of better known parts of the globe. This does not mean that we should conceal the many lamentable gaps in our knowledge of prehistoric times in India, and every student of Indian prehistory must look with envy at the countries of the Near East and Europe where the major landmarks in the development of prehistoric cultures clearly emerge from the mass of evidence accumulated during half a century of intensive archaeological research. Indeed, were it not for the result of research in other countries and the possibility of interpreting Indian material in their light, the difficulties of arranging scattered finds in any logical sequence would be well nigh insuperable.

1 *The American Museum of Natural History*, Science Series, British Edition, 1947, p. 245.

There can be no doubt that from the earliest times India must have occupied a central place among the countries inhabited by the human race. That so far no remains of fossil man have been found may be purely incidental, and any day may bring a discovery of human skeletons of Pleistocene age. We have only to plot on a world map the principal sites of fossil human finds in Asia, Europe and Africa to realize that if lines are drawn to connect these sites many of them cross in India. Thus a line drawn from Java, the home of Pithecanthropus, to the Middle of Germany, the home of Heidelberg man, cuts in India across a line connecting the homeland of Peking man with Kenya, the place of discovery of the important Kanam fossils. While all these fossils are ascribed to the Lower Pleistocene, *i.e.* a time approximately between 600,000 and 400,000 B.C. India maintains her central position when we come to the Upper Pleistocene (approximately 180,000 to 25,000 B.C.). For now she lies on the connecting line between the home of Javanese Solo man and the habitat of the European Neanderthaloids, as well as on a line connecting the Australian Keilor skull, which shows the typical features of *Homo sapiens*, with such European representatives of *Homo sapiens* as the Grimaldi 'Negroids' of Italy. It is improbable that surrounded by countries peopled throughout the Pleistocene by men both of the non-*sapiens* species and of *sapiens* type, India could have remained uninhabited, particularly as her climate would have enabled man to live there without discomfort even during the glacial periods. But we would overstep the limits of legitimacy if we were to guess whether India's first human inhabitants were of a type resembling *Sinanthropus*, whether they belonged to a group related to *Homo soloensis* and the Neanderthaloids or whether they were among the ancestors of *Homo sapiens*.

We tread on firmer ground only when we come to the tangible products of prehistoric man, the stone implements which have remained while the bones of their makers have perished. Unfortunately the large majority of Indian prehistoric artifacts so far available have been found on the surface, and a correlation of individual industries and geological strata is therefore in most cases impossible. Systematic excavation of palaeolithic sites have been confined to Kashmir, the Punjab, the Narbada Valley, Gujerat, and the districts of Kurnool and Chingleput of Madras Presidency. Their results enable us to visualize the type of cultures which dominated the Indian scene during the older Stone age, but do not allow us to trace their origin and interaction.

The oldest stone implements which can be ascribed to a definite geological stratum are large crude flakes found in the boulder conglomerate on terraces in the Indus and Soan

Rivers. If the correlation of the Northwest Indian Pleistocene with that of Europe is correct, these flakes are to be placed in the antepenultimate glaciation at the end of the Lower Pleistocene; this would give them an age of over 400,000 years, which approximately equals the age of the lithic industry of *Sinanthropus pekinensis*.² In Northwest India this crude flake industry was followed by a series of pebble tools comprising large cores and flakes, and described by their discoverers, De Terra and Paterson, as 'Early Soan'. In conjunction with them occur in some places hand-axes of a type recalling forms of the European Acheulean. Somewhat later, probably in the penultimate glaciation, appear Levallois-like cores, and in the Late Soan Levallois-like flakes dominate over the pebble implements.³ This Levalloisian-like industry persisted into the last glaciation, and was followed by a blade industry of upper palaeolithic character contemporary perhaps with the Middle Aurignacian of Palestine and at least 50,000 to 60,000 years old.

This sequence of cultures and their correlation with climatic phases is fundamentally the same as in Europe, and we may thus assume that India was influenced by the same trends in the development of early human life as the western part of the Eurasian land-mass. It is well to recall in this connection the very long duration of the individual phases of this sequence. The cultural phase characterized by the Acheulian industry, for instance, may have lasted some 300,000 years, and the Levalloisian technique may have been used for the shaping of stone implements for approximately 180,000 years.

During these enormous periods industries could, and did obviously, spread over correspondingly large areas, and it is not surprising that the Narbada Valley in Central India yielded palaeolithic industries of types mostly familiar from the Punjab. Here De Terra found in the basic conglomerate large early Soan flakes, hand-axes of Abbevillian and Acheulian types and associated with them a middle Pleistocene type of fauna.⁴

Recent excavations in Gujarat by members of the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona, under the leadership of H.D. Sankalia have resulted in the discovery of palaeolithic industries in the terraces of the Sabarmati River and in the Orsang valley. The main implementiferous stratum is a gravel conglomerate resting either on granite or on sandstone capping; embedded in this conglomerate are found discoids, coarse flakes, hand-axes and cleavers. This industry

² In questions of chronology I have followed here F. E. Zeuner's *Dating the Past* (London, 1946.)

³ H. de Terra and T. T. Paterson, *Studies on the Ice Age in India and Associated Cultures* (Washington 1939), pp. 294, 295.

⁴ De Terra and Paterson, *op. cit.* pp., 320-326.

shows so far no clear stratigraphic differentiation, but Sankalia distinguishes between 'inferior' types, 'characterised by uneven edge, rough irregular flaking and indefinite patches of cortex', and 'superior' types, which include small and large ovates, pointed, heavy-butted hand-axes, and cleavers of symmetrical form, even edges and fine flaking. While the former types are comparable to Chellean and Abbevillian types, the latter resemble Acheulian and Late Acheulian implements. At the time of writing the fossil fauna associated with these industries has not yet been identified, but the geological evidence together with the typological character of the artifacts leaves little doubt regarding their close affinities with the industries from the Soan terraces and the Narbada Valley.

Separated from the implementiferous conglomerates by deep layers of reddish silt and loess, innumerable microliths have been found both on the surface and embedded in loess hills flanking the Sabarmati River. They belong obviously to an entirely different cultural horizon, and as much as a hundred thousand years may have intervened between the days of the makers of the coarse hand-axes and cleavers, and the time when the bearers of this microlithic culture settled on the rivers of Gujarat.

Whereas the pleistocene industries of the Soan, Narbada and Sabarmati Valleys have come to light only during the last decade, a fourth group of hand-axe industries has long occupied a prominent place in archaeological theories. This is the so-called Madrasian, the *coup-de-poing* industry occurring in many parts of Southern India, and found mainly in the coastal laterites and the alluvial soils of river-beds. Most of the Madras hand-axes in museums and private collections are surface finds or of unknown origin, but stratigraphic investigations have been undertaken by Cammiade,⁵ Krishnaswami⁶ and Paterson.⁷

According to all these authors very crude and irregularly shaped hand-axes and cores, many of them rolled, occur in the boulder conglomerates and these implements of pre-laterite age resemble in many ways Abbevillian and early Acheulian types. Implements, of better finish and more symmetric shapes, including ovate and pear-shaped forms as well as discoidal cores, have been found in the laterite gravels, and these show the characteristics of middle Acheulian.

Though their stratigraphic position is not as clear as that of the Punjab finds, there is sufficient evidence that the two stages of the Madrasian correspond roughly to the Early and Late Soan industries. Levallois-like forms are comparatively rare, and the

⁵ Cf. *Antiquity* 1930, pp. 327-39.

⁶ V. D. Krishnaswami, 'Prehistoric Man Round Madras: A Scientific Survey of Madras and Environs (Indian Academy of Science), 1938.

⁷ op. cit., p. 328.

conclusion seems inescapable that the makers of the coarse hand-axes were for ten thousands of years the predominant population. That the Madrasian is essentially a core industry is beyond doubt, and some prehistorians, e.g. O. Menghin, believe indeed that India is the original home of the *coup-de-poing* culture which radiated from there throughout the old World.

This culture belongs, as it seems, to the climatically milder phases of the Pleistocene, and Zeuner suggests that this is due to ecological factors, 'the true hand-axe being an excellent instrument for digging up roots, grubs and other food from the ground' whereas the blades and flakes of the Levalloisian were suited for cutting and preparing carcasses. The Abbevillian and Acheulian would thus be a culture of vegetable and grub gatherers, who could only subsist in a warm climate favouring ample and perennial vegetation, and the Levalloisian a culture of hunters, who relied partly on a meat diet and, using the furs of animals, could withstand a colder climate.⁸

While in India pleistocene man was never threatened with severe cold, climatic changes must nevertheless have profoundly affected his ability to maintain himself on the resources which nature provided. During the glacial periods when ice sheets spread from the poles and belts of temperate climate moved towards the equator heavier rainfall in the tropical zones led to an expansion of evergreen forests. As we know that such pluvial periods almost eliminated the African deserts, we may safely assume that in India too every glaciation was accompanied by a pluvial that favoured the growth of populations dependent mainly on plant gathering. But with the retreat of the glaciers, the rainfall decreased, tropical forest shrank, and what had been well watered grass and park-lands became deserts uninhabitable for palaeolithic man.

In India the hand-axe cultures of plant gathering people seem to have disappeared during the last interglacial period. Whether during this unfavourable phase the bearers of these cultures became extinct, or whether remnants remained and later merged with populations of different stock, we cannot tell. The old assumption that the makers of the lower palaeolithic hand-axe cultures belonged to a non-*sapiens* group of hominids, has been shattered, both by the association of hand-axes with the Swanscomb skull and by the growing realization—partly produced by the Keillor finds in Australia—that *Homo sapiens* was contemporary with *Homo soloensis* and the Neanderthal group. Indeed since the Levalloisian can with some probability be associated with *Homo neanderthalensis*, there has arisen a tendency to ascribe, *per exclusionem*, the hand-axe cultures to the early *Homo sapiens*.

However, at the present stage of our knowledge this problem

⁸ Zeuner, op. cit., p. 291.

cannot be solved in India though any discovery of fossil skulls, for instance in the implementiferous conglomerates of the Sabarmati, could bring us very close to a solution.

Whoever the bearers of the pleistocene cultures were, there can be no question of linking them directly with races now living in India. Even if they were *sapiens* men, they belong to an epoch which must have preceded the differentiation of the present races, and failing a sequence of fossil finds, it is futile to speculate on the probability of any continuity in racial development from early palaeolithic to recent times.

Owing to the scantiness of archaeological material such a continuity cannot be traced even in the cultural field. From de Terra's and Paterson's material it would seem that a Levallois-like industry merged with the earlier Acheulian, and that during the last glaciation upper palaeolithic industries followed soon after the disappearance of the late Levalloisian. In the Sabarmati Valley, on the other hand, we find a broad sterile layer of reddish silt between the conglomerate that yielded the Acheulian like implements and the loess layer which contains flake industries of microlithic type. At least in this locality the possibility of a chronological contact between the earlier hand-axe people and the makers of the microlithic industry can be definitely excluded.

The Sabarmati microliths are mainly of quartz and chert, and include rectangular and crescent blades, roundish rectangular and square scrapers, and a few points. On the whole they are rather crude and there is little secondary chipping. Small bone tools have been found in conjunction with these microliths, and on some sites there is also evidence of red and black pottery. Though the stratigraphical context is not clear, the excavators believe that the potsherds are either later than any of the microliths or belong to a comparatively late microlithic industry.

Excavations in other parts of India reveal a similar position. In rockshelters near Pachmari, Central Provinces, for instance, microliths resembling Tardenoisian types have been found below a thin layer containing pottery.⁹

Somewhat clearer is the stratigraphical position of the finds in the caves of Marahwa Pahar in the Vindhya Hills, where A.C. Carlyle discovered a characteristic microlithic industry, and below it a flake industry of much larger forms associated with coarse hand-made pottery.¹⁰ This industry resembles in many ways the late Capsian, but typological parallels must not be taken as proof for chronological co-existence, and it is indeed

⁹ G. R. Hunter, 'Final Report on the Excavations in the Mahadeo Hills,' *Nagpur University Journal*, 1936, pp. 127, 128.

¹⁰ J. A. Brown, 'On some small highly specialized forms of stone implements found in Asia, North Africa and Europe,' *Journal Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XVIII, 1889, p. 134.

very probable that in India epipalaeolithic industries persisted far into neolithic times and possibly even into the metal age.

Different from the microlithic industries are the coarse flakes and massive scrapers and choppers which I have found in the hills of Adilabad District of Hyderabad State. There hundreds of such implements can be picked up from the surface and from river-beds, but in the absence of stratigraphical evidence it is impossible to ascribe them to any definite period. Typologically they are clearly palaeolithic, and their extreme coarseness and the limited extent of the secondary chippings remind us of lower palaeolithic flake industries such as Levalloisian and Mousterian. Even closer perhaps is the similarity of this industry with the flake cultures of Tasmania and prehistoric South Australia.¹¹ And just as a palaeolithic industry survived in Tasmania until modern times, so palaeolithic industries may have survived in such places as the Adilabad highlands long after the populations of neolithic culture had occupied other parts of India. A similar overlapping of typologically palaeolithic industries into comparatively recent periods seems to have occurred in Ceylon, where flake industries of very ancient type survived until the beginning of the metal age.¹²

The problem of the transition from late palaeolithic and mesolithic cultures to the early neolithic civilizations is in India still far from a solution, and the material so far available suggests indeed that neolithic techniques did not originate in India, but that more or less developed neolithic industries infiltrated into India at a time when the sub-continent was still inhabited by populations of palaeolithic culture.

But before entering upon a discussion of neolithic industries, let us consider what the palaeolithic finds tell us of the life of early man in India. There can be no doubt that the makers of all the palaeolithic and mesolithic industries were food gatherers who lacked any knowledge of agriculture or animal husbandry. The bearers of the early Soan and Madrasian hand-axe industries lived in tropical forests, and relied presumably mainly on the collection of vegetables and grubs. They had no stone implements which one would expect to find in a hunter's outfit, though hand-axes could, of course, have been used for despatching animals caught in traps. But whether man of this period knew already the principle of trapping is more than doubtful.

When a change of climate, probably due to the end of the pluvial period, resulted in the shrinking of the tropical rain-forests, man had to adapt himself to a changed environment.

¹¹ Cf. C. von Füller-Haimendorf, 'Zur Urgeschichte Australiens,' *Anthropos*, vol. xxxi, 1937, pp. 8-23.

¹² C. Menghin considers the industries of Tasmania as well as those found in the caves of Ceylon as 'opsisprotolithic,' i.e., as belonging typologically to the lower rather than to the upper palaeolithic cultures, Cf. *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit* (Vienna 1931), pp. 106-11.

With the gradual desication of the country, the supply of ever available edible plants must have decreased, while the newly emerging parklands offered excellent opportunities for hunting. The flake industries of points, scrapers, bores and awls, both of the coarser and the smaller microlithic types, are the typical equipment of palaeolithic hunters, containing implements useful for the chase as well as for the cutting up of carcasses and the dressing of skins. The distribution of such flake cultures indicates that palaeolithic and mesolithic hunters ranged over the greater part of the sub-continent from the Tinnevely District, where A. Aiyappan found the remains of fisher and trapper folk,¹³ to the Punjab where de Terra discovered microliths in loess deposits.¹⁴ The palaeolithic and mesolithic hunters were by no means confined to the wide open plains, but in many cases seem to have been concentrated in hill regions such as the Vindyas and the Adilabad District of Hyderabad. In these areas, which even today are backwaters of primitive culture, populations with palaeolithic equipment may have persisted long after the older stone age had elsewhere drawn to a close. Indeed it is not at all improbable that certain tribes of hunters and food gathers became acquainted with iron without ever having gone through the stage of a fully developed neolithic culture.

Our knowledge of modern peoples with no other implements than flaked and chipped stone tools, such as the Tasmanians and the Fuegians, allows us to visualize the material equipment of the early hunters of India. None of their implements enabled them to fell trees without an enormous expenditure of labour, and thus we can take it for granted that they did not build solid huts, but lived in leaf-shelters which could be constructed from branches, reeds and bamboos. They also lacked instruments to work large blocks of wood, and this excluded the manufacture of boats and other big wooden objects. Whether they possessed bows and arrows we cannot say for certain; stone arrow-heads are rare in India and possibly of a later date. But the large accumulations of animal bones in some caves inhabited by palaeolithic man, such as particularly the Yerra Konda caves in the Kurnool District of Madras, indicate that the people of that period had the equipment and the skill for hunting big game. Bone tools associated with these finds include points which may have been used as arrow heads, and there is no doubt that in the hands of an intrepid hunter even wooden arrows can kill animals of almost any size.

The complicated problem of the transition from mesolithic to neolithic industries cannot be discussed in this context and

¹³ A. Aiyappan, *Mesolithic Artifacts from Sawyerpuram in Tinnevely District, S. India, Spolia Zeylanica*, Vol. xxiv, No. 2.

¹⁴ De Terra and Paterson, op. cit., pp. 277-278.

stratigraphic data are indeed still insufficient for any definite conclusions. From de Terra's finds at Uchali in the Punjab and the excavations in the loess formations of Gujerat it would seem that a coarse, hand-made pottery precedes, at least in certain localities, the appearance of stone implements of neolithic type and is contemporary with late mesolithic flake industries.

Probably the earliest neolithic stone implements found on Indian soil are axes with pointed butts and an oval cross section.

A similar type of axe,¹⁵ sometimes of round and sometimes of oval section, is characteristic of the proto-neolithic cultures of Central and Western Africa as well as of many parts of Western Europe. It occurs also, besides more developed forms, in the Somrong-Sen culture of Indo-China, and persisted until recently in parts of Melanesia. Everywhere this axe form is associated with early forms of agriculture and there is reason to believe that the bearers of this type of axe were in some countries the first to introduce the cultivation of plants.

The neolithic axe of oval cross section may be derived from the pebble-axe of the late Campignian type, but it is unlikely that its development out of a pre-neolithic implement occurred within the borders of India. For so far we know of no mesolithic culture in India comparable to either the Campignian or the Bacsonian of Indo-China, industries characterized by axes of coarse shape, with the grinding confined to the edge, which might have grown into an implement of this description.

On the other hand, the axe with pointed butt and rounded edge shows by no means always the high polish of a fully neolithic implement. Many of such axes found in India, and particularly in the Deccan, are roughly chipped and pecked, with only the cutting edge ground and polished. In others the polish extends over half of the flanks, and yet others are completely polished. Large numbers of such axes have been found in the Bellary District of Madras and in Hyderabad. They are made either of dioritic trap, both black and grey, or basalt. A smaller and on the whole better worked type is known from Bengal and Assam including the Naga Hills.

The first appearance of such celts in India is a matter of conjecture. Judging from the position in Further India we might be inclined to discount the possibility that it occurred before 3,000 B.C. but such a date allows little time between the beginning of a proto-neolithic culture and the rise of the highly developed Indus civilization. A fixed terminal date for the prevalence of the polished axe with pointed butt in South India has been provided by recent excavations at Brahmagiri in Mysore State.¹⁶ There

¹⁵ Marghin and Heine-Geldern describe it as *Walzenbeil*, a term which has sometimes been translated as 'sawage-shaped axe.'

¹⁶ R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, 'The "Pre-historic" Site of Brahmagiri,' *The Illustrated London News*, Nov. 15. 1947.

a deep, stratified deposit characterized by numerous polished axes together with many microliths of quartz and agate, and a few fragments of copper and bronze, is immediately overlaid by the remains of an iron age culture of megalith builders which arose in or about the third century B.C. Thus a chalcolithic polished axe culture lasted in Peninsular India long after the Aryan invasion of the North. The association of very finely worked microlithic blades with the polished celts of oval section is a common feature throughout the Deccan, but these neolithic microliths must not be confused with the coarser microliths of upper palaeolithic type.

Though the neolithic axe continued in use among the settled peasant folks of chalcolithic times, it must have occurred first in quite a different cultural context. The coarser type with the polish extending only over the cutting edge was probably the principal implement of the very first and most primitive agricultural populations of India. The possession of an effective axe gave these people economic opportunities such as none of their mesolithic and palaeolithic forerunners enjoyed. An axe with a sharp cutting edge enabled man to fell trees without an enormous expenditure of labour, and the ability to clear forest is in most parts of India, as in other tropical countries, the primary condition for any extensive agricultural activity. The polished axe people could then fell the forest and cultivate in the clearings. They could also cut trees and fashion poles for the construction of houses and use sections of tree trunks for the manufacture of large wooden objects (e.g. boats, mortars for pounding grain, drums etc.) such as man working only with chipped flakes and scrapers could never produce.

In recent article in *Man*.¹⁷ I have pointed out that the style of living and basic material outfit of certain aboriginal tribes corresponds—despite their use of iron—to a large extent to this picture of proto-neolithic man. The development of agriculture opened the way for numerous other achievements in the sphere of material culture. It enabled man to become truly settled, and while the proto-neolithic people practised no doubt shifting cultivation, the bearers of later neolithic cultures became the first peasant folks dwelling in substantial and permanent villages.

The stages of this development cannot yet be clearly traced in India, and we do not know how long it took for the heavy, coarse, pointed butt axe, with only the edge sharpened by grinding, to turn in to the finer, smoothly polished celt which survived through chalcolithic times and even into the iron age. Nor do we know indeed, whether this transformation was in the nature of local evolution, or whether it must be ascribed to the introduction of a better worked axe which replaced the older clumsier tools.

¹⁷ 'Culture Strata in the Deccan,' *Man*, 1948.

But in Eastern India, Bihar and—though less well documented—as far south as the Godavari, there is evidence of an entirely different neolithic industry, which certainly did not evolve out of the proto-neolithic, primitively ground axe. This technically far more advanced industry is characterized by a flat axe of rectangular cross-section, parallel sides, sharp, clear-cut edges and a high polish. It is the typical axe-form of the later neolithic cultures of Burma, Malaya and West Indonesia, and there can be little doubt that its sporadic presence on Indian soil is due to the immigration of a neolithic people from the East. As in Further India, so in India, there occurs besides the long type with straight sides, a shorter type with well set-off shoulders. The latter may be derived from a blending of the older and coarser shoulder celt with the axe of rectangular cross section. Since this mixed type seems to have developed outside India, we are here not directly concerned with its origin, and the coarser, only partly ground shouldered celt, which occurs also in India, has never been found in any definite archaeological context.

While a certain coincidence in the distribution of the shouldered celts and that of the Austroasiatic languages has been noticed by several scholars,¹⁸ it was R. von Heine-Geldern whose investigations in the prehistory of Further India, Indonesia and Oceania revealed the association between the culture of the neolithic celt of quadrangular section (*Vierkantbeil*) with the peoples speaking Austronesian languages. This culture seems to have had relations with the Yang-shao cultures of China, and it is unlikely therefore that it penetrated into Further India much before 2,5000 B. C. One of its weaker branches, probably after merging with an earlier Austroasiatic culture, seems to have then filtered into India, but did not have enough impetus to push further south than the Godavari. The bearers of this culture could not have crossed the Brahmaputra Ganges plain once it was occupied by a dense populations of advanced civilizations, and we may therefore assume that it reached Bihar and the hill tracts of Orissa not later than the beginning of the first millenium B.C. and possibly earlier. In a previous article,¹⁹ I have suggested that this fully developed neolithic culture was probably responsible for the introduction into India of several elements of eastern origin, and in particular of the eastern type of megalithic ritual. That the megalithic culture of South India on the other hand, belongs to the iron age and that it replaced an older chalcolithic civilization some time in the third century B.C. has been established beyond doubt by the recent excavations in Mysore. It thus appears contemporary

¹⁸ Cf. J. H. Hutton, *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I., Part I. pp. 359-364.

¹⁹ 'The Problem of Megalithic Cultures in Middle India,' *Man in India*. Vol. xxv (1945), pp. 73-85.

with historic Buddhist civilization and does not fall within the purview of this article.

Scanty as our knowledge of India's prehistory may be we can dimly discern a sequence of cultures which led ultimately to the formation of today's kaleidoscopic culture pattern. It is a phenomenon peculiar to India that throughout the ages civilizations have risen and matured without obliterating or absorbing all that has gone before. Thus old and new co-exist in time, and among many of India's aboriginal tribes we find forms of culture that stem from prehistoric periods. Palaeolithic and neolithic stone industries have become obsolete, but the ways of life and the economic pattern of both the older and the younger stone age still persist in aboriginal India.

KADAN-CLOTHES AND CULTURE-CHANGE

BY O. R. EHRENFELS

THE Kadar¹ of Cochin are a small tribe in which strains of Negrito racial features have been found by Dr B. S. Guha.²

This physical relationship with one of the oldest racial strata in the population of Asia corresponds the cultural make-up of the tribe, held to be representative of the most primeval elements in the social structure of India.³

Few other aboriginals of this country, like the Kadar, base their lives solely on food-gathering and the collecting method of economy which is the only means of subsistence to true Kadar, similarly as the social organisation of the tribe is also of the simplest nature, based on small family-groups, in which a bilateral distribution of functions and rights result in an almost equal position for men and women. This social organization has not yet given rise to the more complicated systems of either patrilineal or matrilineal inheritance of kinship and property, as in fact there is very little to be inherited either way. Among Kadar there are no inheritable group-terms, such as clan, gotra, family, or local names to be added to a person's individual designation, and there is also scarcely any property which could be made the object of a systematic code of inheritance. If in a social group, like that of the Kadar, neither agriculture, nor cattle-breeding, hunting and fishing, and industrial enterprise are being traditionally practised and if houses are little more than temporary leaf shelters, there are few material possessions of a person which he or she has to dispose of, at death, among even the nearest relatives. As closet relations those persons will then be counted who lived in the same household with the deceased, whether they are related through the male or the female line. The residence of young married couples too is neither patrilocal nor matrilocal, on principle, but varies according to practicability and personal circumstances in each individual case.

Both economic and social institutions of the Kadar thus conform, or conformed until quite recently, to that primordial and truly bilateral simplicity which ethnological observations have found to precede the more specialized civilizations of either matrilineal or patrilineal agriculturists, cattle-breeders, big-game hunters, fisher-

¹ Kadar is the plural form of a word *Kadan*, meaning *forest-dweller* which is derived from the Dravidian root *kadu*, *forest*. This word is used by outsiders for the members of the tribe. The nearest approximation to a tribal name, used by the tribes-people themselves, is *Maille*, fem. *Matala*, the complicated significance of which will be discussed in a book, *The Kadar of Cochin*, now under preparation.

² B. S. Guha, *Nature* (1928), p. 121; (1929), p. 123; *Census of India* (1931) and in *Racial Elements of the Population*, Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs, Bombay (1944), p. 9.

³ J. H. Hutton, *Caste in India* (Cambridge, 1936), p. 7.

men and finally of those groups who are engaged in various types of industrial production.⁴

Whilst I found much additional evidence for this assumed primeval simplicity of the Kadar of Cochin since I began ethnographic field work among them over a year ago in 1947, the picture of Kadan religious conceptions revealed itself as even more original, from the Indian point of view, than I had expected. I found in this sphere also similarities with world-conceptions of Semang and other pygmoid aborigines of S. E. Asia which P. W. Schmidt considers as indicative of a primordial type of *Weltanschauung*.⁵ My personal experience of the tribe's religion thus surpassed by far what I had previously gathered from the available literature when choosing this tribe as a model-caste of a primordial stratum in the matrilineal area of the South Indian West coast.⁶

Such culture-historic back-ground of the Kadan tribe makes a study of the here surviving civilization interesting enough, but can yet not distract from the sociological interest in the modes, and results of culture-contact, change and decay which, in the special case of the Kadar, has been brought about by a set of quite unique circumstances. Let us first consider this background of the present cultural conditions among the Kadar, which made their contact with modern machine civilization responsible for a sequence of social events. This sequence, though no doubt also present in other and less original social groups, is perhaps of particular interest as it is more clearly traceable here than elsewhere.

PECULIAR CIRCUMSTANCES

The peculiarities which emphasize certain aspects of acculturation in the case of the Kadar are threefold: firstly their geographical position, secondly the nature of the newcomers in the hills, and thirdly the tribal character of the Kadar themselves.

1. The geographical position of the Kadar inculcated an almost complete seclusion from the plains people. They lived undisturbed in the densest and most inaccessible parts of the Western Ghats, halfway between Chalakudy in the Malayalam speaking plains of the West and Polachi, in the Tamil speaking plains of the East. There was practically no contact with the plains people until late in the XIX century, when the enterprising Government of Cochin constructed a timber-transport tramline over five steep inclines which, incidentally, is the only one of its kind in India. This tramline opened one of the most untouched parts of

4 Schmidt-Koppers, *Volker und Kulturen* (Regensburg 1924).

5 P. W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* (Munster I. W., 1912-1938).

6 Ehrenfels, *Mother-right in India*, (Bombay, 1941), pp. 46, ff.

the virgin forest abruptly to regular traffic. The Kadar's contact with the plains people, thus started, was more sudden than it had most probably been in the case of any other aboriginals of India, excepting perhaps in Assam during war.

2. The nature of the newcomers was no doubt less congenial to that of the Kadar than it was in the case of many other aboriginals to whom a gradual infiltration of less heterogenous plains-people brought new contacts. If the actual oppression of the Kadar at the hands of high-handed officials or merchants and their servants was less cruel than elsewhere, owing to the humane and on principle benevolent attitude of the Government of Cochin, the gulf between newcomers and the aboriginal was probably deeper than anywhere else in peacetime India. Especially after the completion of the tramline lower middle class elements prevailed among the immigrants from the plains. The fact that these minor officials, foremen, forest guards or mechanics speak a similar language and belong to the same small Cochin State as the hill-people themselves stressed rather than diminished the brunt of the civilisatory onslaught on the tribe.

3. The group-character of the Kadar furnishes a further reason why the cultural subjugation of the hill people, by the plainsfolk, did not follow quite conventional lines in their case. Kadar are in a way more independent, less servile and less liable to glide into a position of a newly created kind of 'Depressed classes'⁷ than are many other aboriginals. They have preserved their freedom throughout all the millennia of civilisation in the plains of India and they seem not quite so willing to become serfs now. This peculiarity of the Kadan mentality induces them to imitate, outwardly at least, a somewhat "higher" stratum of plains people, though this may also be partly the result of the invaders' own social position and the example which was thus set before the Kadar. Their present independence and pride should however, not be overestimated as it is, at any rate, less pronounced among them than among many semi-aboriginals, such as Bhils, Raj-Gonds and especially the martial tribes of Assam.

Yet, combined with the peculiar position as collectors of valuable forest products, which nobody else is able to gather in the primeval forest, the Kadar's own mentality counts at least for some of the social phenomena which will be discussed presently and which are not so much unique, as they are uniquely stressed and even exaggerated, in the case of the Kadar, and may therefore

⁷ This is true although the Kadar had been officially classified under the head of Depressed Classes which in no way conforms to actual facts of life or history, as T. K. Sankara Menon pointed out in *Census of India, 1931*, Vol. xxi, p. 286, where he stated that although the Kadar has been 'included among the so-called Depressed Classes, they were in no way depressed to start with. But now they may be regarded as depressed, thanks to the influences, already explained' (i.e. of the plains people.)

serve as a guide to the understanding of less clearly visible though basically similar processes elsewhere.

3. The traditional dress of Kadar, men or women, was a broad piece of bast round the loins. Additions and adornments seem to have been added, manufactured from various leaves, fibres, bark and chains of beads, though nothing definite can be stated about these details, as the old bark and leaf-dress has gone entirely out of use now. Women used to wear beautifully cut bamboo-combs which are partly still in use, though there is of late a tendency to replace them with factory-made plastic men-combs. They look odd, stuck sideways into the heavily oiled and artificially flattened hairdress of a modern Kadar girl, who is usually as self-conscious about her natural curls as any Negro of the U.S.A., although curly hair was considered a matter of pride among Kadar only a generation ago, just as the angular ornaments on the Kadan bamboo-combs which resemble the characteristic ornamentation made by various Negrito tribes in S. E. Asia, had been.

The original Kadan bast and leaf-dress was not only cheap and easily available in the forest, but also healthy and comfortable. The South of the Western Ghats is moist and hot. Cloth, therefore, is permanently wet there, either with rain and heavy dew, or with sweat,—if not with both. Bast bark and leaves dry quickly and therefore are not as chillingly cold as is wet cloth; during rain and stormy nights, and in the heat of the day leaf-clothes are cooler than cotton ones, since they do not absorb hot sweat, but let it drop down and evaporate, which not only makes for cooling the body, but also prevents clothes from getting as unhygienic and filthy as cotton clothes are bound to be, if worn for a long time without proper washing. Regular washing again, few aborigines can afford. Natural leaf-clothes, on the other hand, are easily renewed and replaced by new ones.

This old type of Kadan dress, in spite of all its advantages, has given place to a style of half-European, half-Madrasi-Brahmin clothing which the Kadar are fond of wearing whenever and wherever there is a possibility of being seen by outsiders. That this is done solely for prestige, not for any inherent values of this strange dress in itself, can be gathered from the fact that Kadan men, as well as women, still are in the habit of discarding the particularly burdensome clothes, from the upper part of the body as soon as they feel that they are not seen by outsiders. They then fold their *mundu* up to about knee-height making it thus resemble their old bast-clothes at least in shape. Factory clothes in the Europeanized style of the plains people thus appear to be brought solely for 'showing-off', before them, not for any practical purpose whatsoever.

Even the more affluent among the Kadar cannot afford the high costs of this 'dressing for prestige' without thereby giving

away the money which could buy them essential medicines, a regular supply of soap, oil, chillies and warm blankets for cold winter-nights, which all have come to be a need. Civilization has made the Kadar susceptible to many diseases 'which were powerless so long as they lived their old life of simplicity,' as T. K. Sankara Menon tells us.⁸

Malabar was just in the transition from the former Indian to the present Europeanized, all-covering style of dress which includes shirts for men and European blouses for women. At this time of transition the tramline for timber transport was being constructed and thus the hills of the Kadar opened to easy access from the plains. The plains people, and especially the somewhat more affluent and influential among them, looked down on the simple Kadan dress with all the contempt of the new convert to Western style and standards. Europeanized, all-covering clothes were the more ostentatiously paraded by the plains people, and considered the one criterion of being civilized, as they were a newly acquired conception among themselves. A show was and still is being made, of excessively long pantaloons and *mundus*, hanging down over the heels of their proud owners and rendering them incapable of walking fast. Long, gold-brocaded *veishties* are slung many times round sweat-dripping necks, and over heavy shirts and coats which are wet with a mixture of perspiration, atmospheric humidity and mud. It was, and still is, quite naturally the ambition of all aboriginals to imitate rather these higher classes among the new comers. than the number folk, the coolies or agriculturist in the plains in their less impressive, if more hygienic, simpler dress.

Whilst the first change, the increased expenditure for dress, concerns the clothing problem alone, the second, the change-over from collecting for direct consumption to collecting for sale or barter, affects the entire economic system and the daily life of the tribe. This change, however, did not stop there, but disintegrated the Kadan social system by introducing a kind of division of labour which was alien to the social conceptions of the tribe.

The transformation of economy which has come in the wake of Westernized cotton clothing affected Kadan sociology profoundly though indirectly. Cotton clothes, however, brought about also a direct change in the social structure of the tribe. We have seen that women and men used to enjoy an almost completely equal social position, since not only the laws of inheritance, but also the social system, in Kadan society, was bilateral in the

⁸ op. cit., p. 284.

The economic aspect and financial consequences of this 'prestige policy' in the field of clothing will be dealt with separately. To understand its forceful influence in the present life of the tribe is not possible without some knowledge of its history. Hence the following review of the past.

full sense of the word. Though this more than merely economic equality of the sexes was rooted in old traditions and no doubt also psychologically determined, it was also expressive of the sexes', almost equal participation in the process of economic production. The only source of income had been food-gathering, and this was equally shared by men and women. Two somewhat important exceptions, to this rule, were the dangerous collection of honey from giant trees or precipitous rocks, and the hunt for big game—both domains of men only. Both these items were, prior to the present contractor's system, not really important features in Kadan economy producing, as it were, luxuries rather than necessities; whilst women used to be just as important as men in all matters of essential economic importance. This fact found full expression, not only in the bilateral organization of social life, but also in the personal independence of women who decided often matters of marriage, divorce and residence after marriages, either with the bride's or the bridegroom's people.

The introduction of cotton clothes affected this economic equilibrium mainly in three ways: (1) by commercializing the utilization of collected forest products, (2) through the increase of importance, economically, of just those products which are gathered by men only, and (3) by excluding women from food-collecting activities, generally, in order to save their expensive and burdensome clothes.

(1) The commercialization of collected forest produce is mainly caused by the desire to purchase an ever-increasing quantity of factory clothes (and, incidentally, intoxicating drugs). To achieve this end, forest products of high commercial value have to be collected at certain periods of the year so that then no leisure is left for the collection of food for direct consumption. Women are generally excluded from such collection in hurried haste, which is against their nature. Contractors advance rice to the aborigines, in order to help them to such hurry and specialization. Women are thus excluded from this type of commercialized collection, and men are made to be 'bread winners', as they get rice against the collected forest products. The former quiet and even rhythm of collecting just as much as was required for immediate consumption has thus been upset by the necessity to supply large quantities of a particular kind of forest produce to the contractor at the time of his demand.

This in itself would already have tended to exclude women from the economic process, because women are less prone to sudden exertions. The change from equal co-producers to burdening consumers has, however, been further emphasized by the fact that women nowadays require more cloth in quantity, and more expensive in quality, than do men. If a Kadan woman of today wishes to evade ridicule and molestation on the part of menfolk from the civilized plains, she has to assemble, on her over-heated

body, some nine yards of coloured sari-cloth in addition to several yards of underwear, *veishties* and European blouses. This trend of events is further stressed by the contractors' exclusion of women from all business transactions. The virtual economic boycott thus forced on Kadan women does not correspond to their original position in their family and tribal society, but reflects the position of women in the plains only.

From equal partners and co-producers, in the economic sphere aboriginal women just glided into the position of unpaid labourers—veritable economic slaves of their menfolk. The latter began to monopolize, in a quite unconscious and apparently 'natural' fashion, all transactions connected with money and, moreover, to feel that women are becoming more and more of an economic burden, clamouring, as they do, for steadily increasing quantities of costly factory cloth which is required to attain social prestige.⁶ It was thus both the unconsciously anti-feminist example of the contractors from the plains and development from within, caused by the introduction of cotton clothes, which lowered the position of women economically.

(2) The increasing importance of those forest products which are being collected by men only is also mainly due to the desire to purchase more and more costly cloth or ready-made clothes. Honey and umbrella sticks are the chief items of forest-produce, the collection of which is almost exclusively men's work. Honey used to be, in the pre-contractor days of Kadan history, a luxury and it has now become a main source of income, for which the contractor gives rice or money. Umbrella sticks were formerly not collected at all and are now in great demand. The carrying of heavy cane-loads from the thick jungle to the collection centres is men's work. The great importance attached to these commodities by the contractor has further diminished the share of women in modern Kadan economy.

Though this outward transformation has taken hold of the entire tribe as such, it has had its particular influence on the life of women. The immigrant population from the plains consisted almost exclusively of men who felt that they should assert their social superiority over the wild tribes by passing remarks about the 'shamelessness' and 'indecency' of their women who did not cover their breasts. According to T. K. Sankara Menon some of this immigrants also acted in a way which made Kadan women feel that to allow plainmen to see them with a free upper part of the body was to invite trouble for themselves. These experiences have made Kadan women so self-conscious about their breasts that it has become a habit with them, to assemble truly fantastic heaps and bulging bundles of cloth on their breasts, as soon as any outsider is in sight. It looks often as though they were balancing a heavy load of cloth on their breasts, the length of which in yards sur-

passes by far even the amount of cloth which the most rigorous standard of church-regulations for an orthodox Syrian Christian lady ordains. Even baby girls are being affected by the thus developed, almost morbid, self-consciousness of Kadan women in front of outsiders, fumbling and covering their upper body, as soon as a non-Kadan approaches. Whilst boys usually go about freely, little girls are already put into European skirt-and-blouse combines which are stiff with mud and perspiration and thus hang heavily on the infant's shoulders. Kadan women, more even than men, feel that they cannot face the world outside their direct neighbourhood without the clothes which have been imported from the plains.

CLOTHES AS AGENTS OF ECONOMIC CHANGE

Let us now consider the economic consequences which the conception of clothes, as symbols of social prestige,² has brought about.

The cost of clothes influences the economy of those who buy them, in a direct and obvious way. Where clothes are not necessitated by the hardships of cold climate, expenses on clothes are undertaken for social prestige, luxury or allied non-economic reasons. If this is generally true, it is particularly so in the case of the Kadar who, as we have seen, did not buy factory made, or in fact any cotton cloth at all, until two or three generations ago. The price for their clothing was the amount of labour invested in collecting the necessary material from the forest and smoothing or shaping it for use. Men and women seem to have shared in this labour equally and it no doubt played a subordinate role in the economic operations of the 'pre-tramline Kadar'.

The introduction of factory cloth, combined with urge to wear a disproportionately large quantity of it for reasons of prestige, made clothing one of the biggest items in the budget of an ordinary Kadan family.

The only two sources of cash-income which are available to Kadar are either collection of forest produce or, since recently, employment in the Forest Department of the State and the tram-line administration as a part of it. The first source of income, collection of forest-products for sale, though allied to the original food-gathering system of the tribe, yet changed its former even rhythm since it has been commercialized. Formerly goods used to be collected in such quantities as were needed for a day or two only, since there was neither opportunity nor necessity to collect for sale. Collection for the use of others necessitated storing of provisions and the collection of certain commodities in big quantities and at short periods, whilst the second source of cash-income, work in the employment of Government, upset the entire fabric of Kadan economy, changing the former common food-gathering into a food-purchasing system in which the breadwinners are men only, and even among them a

limited number of individuals, instead of all members of the tribe, as it was before.

The sociological significance of this change has been further emphasized by the restriction on free competition through the installation, in the forests, of minor forest produce contractors, to whom the utilization of the forest products is being rented on lease by the Government, whilst the aboriginals are prohibited to sell collected forest-products to anybody, except to the contractors authorized to deal in this commodity. The prices paid by the contractors for forest products in the hills are low, ranging from one fourth to one tenth and less of wholesale market prices in the plains. This arrangement would, in itself, not necessarily work to the detriment of the tribe if the contractor would provide useful and beneficial commodities at equally low prices thus preventing the purchase of injurious and costly articles from the plains.

The opposite is, however, actually being done. The contractors have an interest in making the aboriginals as dependent as possible in order to induce them to undertake ceaseless collection of valuable forest products. Naturally the contractors encourage there the aboriginals' craving for social prestige in the form of clothes as incidentally also that for opium, alcohol, tobacco and chewing. The contractors also advance cloth and ready-made European blouses for women and shirts for men at double to four times their prices in the plains. The contractors sell, on the other hand, nourishing food, oils, chillies and soap in limited quantities only and partly of qualities which are unsuited and wasteful. I saw, for instance, one cake of perfumed Hamam-Soap, worth six annas, being used up for washing one man's dress in the river! Sorely needed medicines, moreover, are not at all available.

These arrangements result firstly in an increase of expenditure on factory clothes which is out of any proportion to the effort formerly dedicated to the acquisition and preparation of bark or leaf dress, and secondly, in the complete elimination of self-sufficiency in the field of direct consumer goods.

(3) The exclusion of women from general food-collecting activities, in order to save costly clothes, is likely to deal the final blow to their dwindling position in Kadan family and society. Food-collection in the jungles is no more the easy reaching down of sweet fruits that it is supposed to have been in the Kadan 'Golden Age', according to mythology. Nowadays pits have to be scratched deep in the ground, with digging-stick and hands, to get at the edible roots. Whilst engaged in this work, it is unavoidable to soil one's body, especially the part between breast and knees. Simple forest mud, which is thrust upon the body in the process of digging these pits, is neither injurious nor repulsive in itself. A quick bath in the river removes it easily from either bare skin or the smooth non-absorbing bast-cloth. Cotton, on the other

hand, absorbs mud. This is particularly so if cotton is wet with perspiration and then gets transformed into a stiff and evil-smelling encasement for the body which it is supposed to protect. However blind the modern Kadar's admiration for cotton clothes may be, nobody can possibly enjoy wearing such a crust on his or her skin. Floating saris get quickly torn in the thorny shrubs and the thick undergrowth of the jungle. Consequently aboriginal women get tired of going to the jungle at all and gradually give up participation in common collection expeditions to the forest.

If Kadan women take to wearing European blouses, their reluctance to work in the jungle gets further impulses. Tight blouses may be somewhat less burdensome than nine yards of heavy, coarse sari-cloth, but they are not worn instead, but in addition, to the upper fold of long saris. The new combination of Brahmin-cum-European-costume thus combines the disadvantages of both. Apart from the exorbitant prices of Rs. 6 to 7 which the ignorant Kadar are made to pay for ready-made blouses of inferior quality, aboriginals are also entirely unaccustomed to handling sewn clothes. Kadan women usually opine that once such a complicated thing as a blouse is given to them, has been manipulated over head and shoulders, it is not to be removed until it falls to pieces; neither during the hot hours of the day, nor even at night, near the camp-fire or during sleep.

The hygienic and aesthetic results of this ill-conceived idea about clothes are better imagined than described. European blouses enwrap just those parts of the body where lungs, heart and upper bowels are situated. The blouse acts on them like a compress. If the strain thus caused gets too intolerable, or if the baby cries for milk, the Kadan mother lifts the lower part of her sweat-soaked blouse over one or both breasts. The sudden exposure of the overheated chest to the cooling breeze, to which it is no more accustomed, often causes chill and not infrequently also pneumonia. The half-exposure of the one or both breasts pressed down by the tight upper part of the blouse is not only unhygienic but also unaesthetic, even indecent, whilst the free bust of an uncovered and hardened upper part of the body makes for harmonious movements which are as self-respecting as they are beautiful.

As long as Kadan women cover their breasts with saris only, instead of with European blouses, they remove the burdensome cover as soon as they know that no non-Kadar can see them. But once they have taken to wearing blouses they will keep them on, day and night, until the stuff falls to pieces. In consequence babies are nowadays carried against moist and dirty cotton cloth instead of against the skin of the mother. The mother's naked back is warming in rains, or cold nights, and cooling in the heat of the day which often rises above the human body temperature. The

use of European blouses deprives them of both benefits and thus adds to the already high infantile mortality and that of women of child-bearing age.

The numerical disproportion between marriageable Kadan men and women might be expected to result in a greater demand for, and thus in a better position of, women within the tribe. In this particular case of slackening supply, it looks, however, as though the 'market value' of the increasingly rare commodity would also drop, instead of increasing, in proportion to the rising demand. This conclusion is a fallacy. The lowering of women's position in modern Kadan society is primarily due to causes other than their dwindling numbers. Still the fact remains, and is worthy of notice, that the rapid numerical decrease of marriageable girls, far from counteracting those causes, even adds strength to them by invigorating the foreign example of child-marriage.

The example of men from the plains, surrounded as they are with all the glamour of civilization and governmental power behind them, played an initiating part in this complex process. It may be wrong to attribute conscious anti-feminist tendencies to the thoughts, words and actions of the plains people, in the question of Kadan womanhood, though it is certainly not wrong to say that thoughts, words and actions of the plains people began to undermine the formerly equal position of Kadan womanhood. Men are generally much more devoted 'sex-patriots, than women; ever ready to ridicule all those of their sex who give more concessions to women than they themselves are in the habit of doing. The typical North Indian ridicules a South Indian because the latter does not keep his wife in purdah; the Tamilian ridicules the Malayali for the matrilineal system of inheritance and the high and hounoured position of women which once upon a time was customary in Kerala. Modern Malayalis, with their patriarchalized outlook ridicule the Kadar or any other aboriginals, for their women-folk's position of former complete equality in economic and social matters.

The eagerly proselytizing spirit of this 'sex-patriotism' among men went even to the extent of introducing restrictions among women in the hills which had been alien to the introducers themselves only a few years before. The introduction of the taboo on women's breasts among Kadar, and at the instance of Europeanized Malayalis yields an instance of this kind. Formerly it had been the prerogative of the noble Malayali lady to keep her breast free and healthy, as she herself had been. But the very descendants of these Malayali mothers would now, under the influence of foreign men, not allow even the aboriginal women in the hills to go free.

The introduction of child-marriage among the Kadar is another example of this kind. Child-marriage had been alien to the non-Brahmin communities of Kerala and was altogether unknown to

Kadar women of yore who used to marry well after attaining puberty. Whilst child-marriage is being gradually eradicated in the plains, even among progressive sections of Brahmins, it is being introduced among the Kadar, by the prejudices and example mostly of non-Brahmin Malayalis from the plains. The evil thus being spread is even greater than it had originally been in the plains. Child-marriage among Kadar means sexual intercourse with a girl-child. If a hefty young Kadan widower of, say, 25 years, at all succeeds in obtaining a second bride after his first wife's early death, he is certainly not satisfied with a merely theoretical and legally acknowledged spouse, but wants a sexual partner. Sexual intercourse before and directly after attaining puberty, apart from being injurious to girls in itself, moreover results not infrequently in much too early pregnancy and thus increases infantile and maternal mortality. The vicious circle thus set in motion lowers the position of women who have already begun, as child-wives, to slide into the position of dumb cattle, submitting to the whims and commands of their grown-up husbands. Such child-wives among the Kadar of today exhibit almost the slave-mentality of their sisters in the plains.

Child-marriage thus appears likely to ring the death-knell of self-respect and dignity among Kadan women, which has been gradually undermined by the introduction of Europeanized cotton clothes and the prejudices and indirect consequences which followed in their wake.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The Kadar of Cochin are typical food-collectors, representative of a bilateral social system, based on economic equality of men and women.

2. The geographical seclusion of the tribe which, until quite recently, had been almost complete, the comparatively high degree of sophistication among the intruders from the plains, and finally the independent but at the same time socially ambitious tribal character of the Kadar, make the history of their culture contact with the plains people particularly interesting for the study of acculturation between widely differing social groups.

3. Leaf- and bast-clothes, the original dress of the tribe, were hygienically superior and economically more suitable to the tribes-people than the newly introduced cotton clothes in Europeanized style. Yet the latter are now being used exclusively as a mark of respectability and especially large quantities of cloth are heaped on women's breasts, in spite of forbiddingly high prices, in order thus to get prestige in the eyes of lower middle class people from the plains.

4. The necessity to purchase cotton clothes from the contractor, instead of collecting clothing material in the forest, lent strong impulses to the change of the Kadan economic system. The Kadan men became breadwinners and Kadan women idlers, when for-

merly both sexes shared the burdens and benefits of production equally. This process is being further accelerated by the policy of the Minor Forest Produce contractors whose interest it is to speed up forest collection during the period of their contracts. The division of labour between men and women thus entailed, accentuated by the contractor's exclusion of women from business, disintegrates the equilibrium in Kadan society.

5. The position of women is being adversely affected by the new dress fashion in yet another series of causes and effects.

(a) Whilst commercialization of forest products, combined with the contractor's attitude towards aboriginal women, tends to exclude them from economic production, they are becoming more and more of an economic burden through the introduction of European blouses and the taboo on visibility of free breasts.

(b) Increasing importance of such forest products as are collected by men only, as for instance honey and umbrella sticks, stresses men's position as almost exclusive 'breadwinners'.

(c) Unsuitability of European blouses and floating saris for collection-work in the jungles and the desire to save these costly paraphernalia of civilization tend to exclude women even from collecting mere foodstuffs and make them economically completely dependent on men.

The introduction of European blouses adds in yet another way to the disadvantages of Europeanized women's clothes and increases infantile as well as material mortality. The thus entailed growing disproportion between marriageable girls and boys lends further impulses to the introduction of child-marriage which is being considered as another mark of social respectability by modern tribesmen.

Child-marriage which is gradually being ousted among progressive classes in the plains finds thus new adherents among the hill-tribes. There it is likely to complete the final destruction of bilateral equality of the sexes and the once respected position of womanhood which had been already undermined by those social changes that had come in the wake of cotton cloth and Europeanized clothing habits of taboos.

PREGNANCY AND CHILDBIRTH AMONG THE AMAT GONDS

BY LEELA DUBE

The Gonds, the largest aboriginal tribe of India, are spread over a wide area of Middle India and the Deccan. They are divided into numerous endogamous and territorial sections, which for all intents and purposes constitute different tribes by themselves. Every section has its own distinctive social organization and certain special rites, customs and institutions which are characteristically its own.

The Bindranawagarh Zamindari in the Raipur District of the Central Provinces is inhabited by three major sections of the great Gond Tribe—the Amat Gonds, the Dhur Gonds and the Oriya Gonds. Of all these, the Amat Gonds are best situated from the point of view of both, economic condition as well as social prestige. Most of them are agriculturists and farm-labourers, either working on their own land or as labourers generally in the fields of their tribal fellowmen. As the Zamindar of Bindranawagarh belongs to this section of the tribe the Amat Gonds naturally enjoy greater facilities and privileges. The economic as well as social status of the Dhur and Oriya Gonds is regarded to be lower than that of the Amat Gonds.

In this paper, I propose to give an account of the customs and practices of the Amat Gonds regarding pregnancy, childbirth and menstruation, based on extensive investigations made by me personally among the Amat Gond women.

MENSTRUATION

Due to their contact with the Hindu castes, the Amat Gonds consider it better if a girl is married before menstruation, and those who can afford it, do accordingly. But the general practice is to marry girls after puberty. Menstruation is considered a natural and necessary stage in the life of a girl. 'One who does not flower, how can she bear fruit?' is the common saying. If a girl does not menstruate by the time she ought to, help of a Baiga is sought. If these efforts are of no avail and the girl reaches an age by which a woman normally bears two or three children, without menstruation, it is said that she should be completely ostracized. It is believed that nobody would eat or drink at her hands. Marriage is out of question, and even if she has already been married she must be left by her husband. *Pandi* is the word used in Chhattisgarh for such an unfortunate woman. Even on persistent enquiries I could not get information regarding the existence of any such woman among the Amat Gonds of Bindranawagarh Zamindari. However, I was told about a *Pandi* of the Raot caste in the Nawagarh circle, but even she has died long ago.

When signs of blood occur, the girl is given one broad *chindi*¹ and another narrow one. The narrow one she ties round the waist, and the broader *chindhi* is taken between the two legs and tied at two points with the *chindi* round the waist. A menstruating woman has to suffer from various taboos. She should not fetch water for domestic use nor should she cook. She is debarred from entering the cattleshed. Boiled paddy, even if it is dry, must not be touched by her. A woman in her menses cannot touch without polluting the flesh of an animal which is to be eaten, nor should she touch the dried fish. She should not enter the fields also. However, she can carry on some of her normal domestic duties like grinding, pounding, smearing the house with cowdung etc.; but she must not enter the kitchen on any account. She can sit with women-folk for chit-chatting, but those who have to cook take care not to touch her.

A menstruating woman every day goes to the river or tank for washing her clothes. There is no fixed period for which a woman must be out. When her body becomes 'dry' i.e. when the menstrual flow ceases, she prepares herself for the final bath. On the next day she boils her once-washed *chindhi* and *lugra*² and all other clothes which she has used in the last few days, in water mixed with ashes. She then goes to the river to wash them. Then she cleans her hair with earth and takes her bath. Having done this she comes back and washes her hands and feet again and besmears the body with oil and powdered turmeric. After this she can enter the kitchen, and take up all her normal domestic work.

A menstruating woman cannot fetch water from the village well. If there is no river or tank nearby, or if the tank has gone dry in summer, others' help is sought for bringing water for her in the *bari*³ where she washes her clothes and takes her bath.

The *chindhi*, after being boiled in water and ashes and washed carefully are kept somewhere in the house, where they are safe from others' sight. The earthen pot used for boiling the clothes is kept in the *bari*. When the *chindhi* become useless they are disposed of. They are often thrown into water. Throwing them in the jungle is considered very dangerous as it is likely to give opportunity to a witch to spread her evil designs.

During the wife's monthly period her husband can enter the room in which she is confined but he cannot touch her. Intercourse is strictly tabooed. He also suffers from certain disabilities during this period. He is not allowed to go in a temple. If the wife is in menstruation and the 'new-eating ceremony' of the family is

1 A rag, a piece of torn cloth.

2 Woman's *sari*.

3 Enclosure of land adjoining the houses where dust and rubbish are thrown and some vegetables, etc., are grown.

to be performed, the woman as well as the husband will not be allowed to eat the food that is prepared for offering to the family Gods on this occasion. He is also not to perform any ceremonial worship or religious rites during his wife's monthly period.

CONCEPTION AND PREGNANCY

If a married girl has already come to age, pregnancy is expected at any time. It is considered good if she conceives within a year after her marriage. However, a period of one or two years is considered to be too short for conceiving. While recording the census of the Amat Gond villages whenever I asked about a young girl as to how she had not got any child, the old women and even men would smile and answer, 'she has been married only two years back'.

There is a belief among the Amat Gonds that a child is born out of blood. So when a woman misses her period in its normal course, others begin to suspect pregnancy. But according to them it is only in the fifth month that life comes in the womb and that pregnancy can be said to have definitely occurred. Various taboos must be observed by a woman during pregnancy. She should not cross the shadow of a horse, nor the *dandi*¹ of a cart nor yet a *nagar*.² A horse is born twelve months after conception and if its shadow is crossed by a pregnant woman she will also take a full year to deliver the child. Mangli, wife of Mangalsing Kumarra of Sambalpur, had unwittingly crossed the shadow of a horse. Her daughter, as the belief goes, was born after twelve months of conception and hence was named Barniat (born after twelve months). An expectant mother should not cross the *dandi* of a cart otherwise the child's throat will make a *ren ren* sound like that of a cart. It is believed that if a pregnant woman crosses a *nagar*, whenever the plough is taken round the field, the child's breath will be unsteady. Similarly, a woman who is carrying should not wear a new unwashed *lagra*, nor should she wear new bangles. If a new *lagra* is brought for her, some other woman should wear it first and then only it can be used by her. The same should be done in the case of new bangles also. A pregnant woman is advised by elderly women not to pass by the grave-yard or wander in the jungles alone at evening time.

Intercourse after the fifth or sixth month of conception is supposed to harm the growth of the child and hence is generally avoided in advanced pregnancy.

CHILDBIRTH

Childbirth generally takes place in the husband's house. If there is nobody to attend to her there, in exceptional cases, a

¹ Portion joining the yoke to the body of the cart.

² Plough.

woman may go to her parents for delivery, but the expenses incurred for medicines, barber and washerman etc, must be borne by the husband.

When the pains start, the woman is taken into a separate room. Some elderly women come to attend to her. Experienced women from clean Hindu castes like the Raot or Kalar may also be admitted into the room. But a suspected witch must always be avoided. The door is closed and the woman's *lugra* is removed. While she is seated on a padding of cloth, some one massages her loins. A woman begins massaging her feet also. The *suin*³ is generally not called till the child is born. If the delivery is obstructed and the child does not tully come out within a reasonably short period of time, an experienced woman may be called upon to hold the head of the child and pull it out. Sukaro of Littipara is always in demand for this task. If the delivery is extremely difficult and the woman has unbearable pains, the *suin* may be called before child birth. However, the umbilical cord must not be cut by anybody else except the *suin*. While the Oriya Gonds do not call any *suin* for cutting the umbilical cord, the Amat Gonds would never cut it themselves. If the *suin* has gone to an adjoining village, she is immediately sent for, and the child is left as it is till she comes. There are several cases on record which go to show that people had to wait for fifteen to twenty hours for the *suin*.

As soon as the child is born, the *suin* makes the mother stand and presses her stomach. When a good amount of blood is out, the woman is temporarily cleaned, helped to wear a *lugra* and is then seated. The *suin* then attends to the child. She cuts the umbilical cord, digs a small pit then and there in the earth, and puts the cord along with the placenta in it. Over that a fire is kindled which must be kept continuously burning till the *chhatti* day. She then gives the child a bath and keeping it on her feet applies oil and powdered turmeric to its body. Then she warms it. The mother washes her soiled clothes, bathes in hot water, wears another *lugra* and applies oil and powdered turmeric to her body. All the dirt is thrown away by the *suin*.

For two days the mother is not given anything to eat. On the third day a specially prepared decoction is given. For the whole night some medicinal herbs and roots are boiled in an earthen pot. When about four seers of water is left in it, some jaggery is added and the solution is then filtered. A handful of garlic is then pounded and fried in ghee till it turns red. This garlic is put in the decoction which is then boiled once again. This is given to the mother on the third day. On the fourth day she is given sweet balls of two different types. Til is heated and powdered; and then ghee and jaggery are added to it. Later, small balls are prepared out of it. For the second type, some indigenous spices, herbs and

³ A village midwife generally belonging to Chamar untouchable caste.

roots like *south*, *jeera*, *ajwain* and *cocoa-nut* are brought from the local shopkeeper and heated and pounded. The powder is mixed with ghee and jaggery and out of it small balls are prepared. These sweet balls are usually given to the mother till the *chhatti* day. If the economic condition of the family permits, the woman may continue to get these even after the *chhatti* day.

On the sixth day the *chhatti* ceremony is performed. But if by that time the remaining portion of the umbilical cord has not dried and fallen off, the ceremony has to be postponed.

On the *chhatti* day the *suin* smears with cowdung the walls and the ground in the delivery room. Till that day the fire on the umbilical cord is kept burning. By that time the contents of the pit are burnt to ashes. The pit is then filled with earth. On this day a barber is called and he shaves all the male members and near relatives of the family. The head of the new born is shaved after a little milk has been applied to it. The washerman takes away for washing all the clothes that were worn by the people at the time of shaving. The *suin* bathes the child, applies oil and powdered turmeric to its body, and taking fire in a *gursi*⁴ warms it. She then keeps the child on a winnowing fan full of paddy, from where it is picked up by some one. Then the mother washes her soiled clothes and gives them along with other clothes to the washerwoman for washing. Taking a bath after washing her hair with earth, she applies oil and powdered turmeric to her body. She puts on a new *lagra* and one by one touches the feet of all those who according to the custom deserve respect from her. On this occasion her parents or atleast one of the members from her father's family is expected to come. If the parents can afford it, they bring a new *lagra* for the daughter. If this is not possible at least some money for bangles must be given to her. At the time of the first delivery of their daughter, the parents are expected to bring some rice, pulse, ghee, onions etc. If they are living in the same village, they may even bring cooked food for their daughter on the *chhatti* day. By about mid-day she takes her meal.

The name-giving ceremony takes place in the evening. Those who can afford, call the Gandas with their *baja*¹ and *mohri*.² They play their music before the house. In return for it they are detained for partaking of the day's feast although at the time of eating they are required to sit separately outside the house. The number of persons invited for the feast and the quality and quantity of the things that are to be cooked and served therein depends upon the monetary condition of the family, and upon the importance of the occasion. Birth of the first child and

4 A large earthen basket-shaped pot-in which fire is kept.

1 *Baja*.— } Musical instruments.

2 *Mohri* }

specially of the first male child is celebrated with greater enthusiasm. Just in front of the kitchen room a *chauk*³ of paddy is designed in the verandah. The mother sits on a *pattal*⁴ taking the child in her lap, with the *chauk* just in front of her. On the *chauk* they keep a pitcher full of paddy in which some mango leaves are arranged, and on the top of it an earthen lamp is kept burning. On the same *chauk* they keep two leaf cups, one full of milk and the other full of rice coloured yellow with turmeric. Women of the village, who have been invited, come for 'seeing the lamp'. Everybody comes with a leaf cup full of either rice or paddy. This is meant to be given away in *tikan*. Close relatives bring some money also according to their capacity.

The *tikan* is to be done only by women and not by men. Everybody takes a little milk from the leaf cup and washes the feet of the child and the mother. This washing is only nominal. Then taking the coloured rice she applies it to the child's and the mother's forehead; and puts the rice or paddy that she has brought, near the mother. While doing this those who are witty make some funny remarks such as: 'be a long-legged one like me' or 'be as short as I am'. Men and women discuss among themselves as to what name should be given to the child. Elderly persons are respectfully consulted. When all seem to agree on a particular name, the paternal aunt of the child is asked to name it formally. Seven threads are taken out from a *chongi* leaf. The paternal aunt dips those threads in the milk of the leaf-cup, puts them into the child's hand and again takes them away. While doing this she addresses the child by the name that has been accepted and says, 'O——give *mukhari*⁵ and water to your parents'. She repeats this seven times, every time asking the child to give *mukhari* and water to a different relative. In the end she demands it from the child for herself.

After this the child is laid on the rice that has been brought by the women-folk. As it begins to cry, everybody presses the paternal aunt to take it in her lap. But she would ask, 'what am I to get? Why should I lift the child and soothe it?' Now it is the turn of the paternal aunt's father, mother or brother to promise her some present such as a new *luga*, a cow or atleast some money for bangles. If the new-born baby is a girl, they say that she would be given away in marriage to the aunt's son. When a promise is obtained then the aunt lifts the child. The women then disperse, and prepare for the feast.

After the *chhatti*, the mother starts going to the river or tank. But the child is bathed at home only. On the *barhi nahana* day,

3 *Chauk*.—A rectangular design made for ceremonial occasions.

4 *Pattal*.—Round shaped leaf-plate.

5 A twig tooth-brush.

i.e. on the twelfth day, she boils her clothes once again in water mixed with ashes. Going to the river she washes them and washes her own hair and body. When she returns from there she applies oil and powdered turmeric to her body. For more than a month after the day of her delivery she is almost in the same position as she is during her periods. Till that day every fourth or fifth day she boils her clothes in ashes and water.

Generally she is free from the restrictions of not cooking, not fetching water for domestic use etc. after full one month of the delivery. On that day she boils her clothes again in ashes and water and washes them in the river. After washing the hair with earth and taking her bath she comes back. Then she applies oil and powdered turmeric to her body, washes her hands and feet once again, and enters the kitchen. That day she would herself cook and invite all those elderly women who were present at the time of the child-birth and had assisted the expectant mother. This is called '*lat mari bhat*' *i.e.* rice given as a compensation for the kicks that they may have received from the expectant mother, at the time of the child-birth. From that day the marital relations between the woman and her husband are resumed.

For about a year the mother continues to apply oil to the child's body and also warms it after the bath. After every few days she applies rice flour to its body before bathing.

As a remedy for scanty milk a specially prepared rice porridge is given to the mother in case she finds difficulty in suckling the child. If a mother dies leaving her young child behind, the relatives try to find a woman with a child approximately of the same age, for breast-feeding it. For this purpose a Gond woman is preferred; however, a woman belonging to one of the different clean castes may also be selected. No special relationship is recognized between the child and the woman who breast-feeds it. If such an arrangement is not possible, cow's milk is given to the child after being boiled in a special way. In the water boiling in a big utensil, the pot of milk is kept with a fresh leaf over its mouth. When the leaf is cooked the milk is supposed to be boiled and is given to the child when it is cool.

If a woman begins her menstruation again, when the child is just four or five months old, it is called *phulnahan*. But it is claimed that a woman generally restarts her menstruation only when the child begins to toddle *i.e.*, is nearly one year old.

Breast-feeding continues while there is milk in the breasts. If the mother conceives again, she allows the child to suck till the foetus is about five months old. After that, weaning has to be resorted to, or else it is feared that the baby in the womb would dry up. No mother would continue to breast-feed her previous child for full nine months of her next pregnancy. For making

it forget mother's milk a child is given such alluring things as *roti*¹, *chana*² *murra*³ or tea. But if it persists in not giving up its right, bitter paste of neem leaves is applied to the breasts of the mother, so that the child may get an aversion for sucking.

If a woman does not get any issue even after four or five years of married life a Baiga is called to investigate into the causes of this infertility. Cases of persistent abortions as well as deaths of children one after another are also brought to the notice of the Baiga. All the details about the first menstruation such as date, month, place, time, part of the month, *i.e.* dark or moonlit etc. are provided to him and then he proceeds to discover the real cause of the tragedy. Once, Supetin of Mohonda had taken Chhebo with her to Panduka bazaar. They finished their marketing and started for home. It was a dark night and Chhebo started her menstruation on the way. At Gariaband she washed her clothes in the *Nawa taria* tank and proceeded further. After reaching Mohonda Supetin informed Buchain, Chhebo's uncle about it. Budhram of Damnai married Chhebo but she lost three children one after another. Buchain called Bhawanidas, a Baiga from Datby for remedy. After making full investigations Bhawanidas discovered that as Chhebo had started her menstruation in the dark night she came under an evil star. He gave *hom kuhra*⁴ and was offered one rupee and four annas. After this, Chhebo got three sons and one daughter and all of them are living. Infertility is recognized to be one of the worst domestic tragedies, and often leads to quarrels, divorce and polygynous households.

1 Bread, prepared out of wheat or rice flour.

2 Fried gram.

3 Fried rice.

4 Ovarions by burning *sarai* gum or other incense.

THE ADVANTAGE OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH AT PONDICHERRY

By A. BIGOT

GENERAL REMARKS :

India, a triangular peninsula, two sides of which are washed by sea, offers this particularity which has been influencing its history and people, that of not being a seafaring nation.

Only one Indian State had understood that control over the seas was a source of power: The Chola Empire in South India; and it seems that it was South India which produced the majority of immigrants who took part in the expansion of Hindu-Buddhic culture as far as Indo-China.¹ In the 10th century of our present era, the maritime policy of the Chola emperors led them to invade Ceylon and they had in their possession in Malaya a veritable colonial territory. A bas-relief of the famous Borobudur depicts a big fly-boat carrying Indians on their way to Java.

In the 15th century, navigation in the Indian waters was done by the Arabs; and in 1499 the Portuguese fleet of Vasco de Gama lay at anchor at Calicut. The control over the Indian Ocean went soon after to Alfonso de Albuquerque (1510-1516) who established three bases at Socotra, Goa and Malacca. Thenceforward India was drawn into world politics and underwent, as counter-blow, the effects of rivalry between far-off kingdoms.²

Though the freedom of the seas is important for the freedom of India, the known inhabitants have taken up land-route. It is by this route, in fact, that successive invaders had entered India and settled there.

The autochtones were not perhaps numerous; and it is curious to note that closely neighbouring countries to India are not in fact much populated. India, however has become one of the most populated nations of the world. The Himalayan barrier and hardly accessible coasts have created a certain isolation so that all the tribes that entered India did not leave it, caught up, so to say, within this immense geographical net and retained also by the fertility of the deltas. The result was, especially in the domaine of medicine and through the caste system, a certain cultural unity which hides badly a profound ethnical diversity.

This was known as early as the farthest antiquity.

At the end of the 6th century B. C., Hecates de Milet described the different populations of Gandhara, Eastern Border of Persia

¹ Angkor-Vat, in Cambodia, is one of the most glorious evidences of the spreading of Indian culture. See G. Coedes, *Histoire ancienne des états hindouïses d'Extrême-Orient* (Hanoi, 1944).

² About India and sea-power two interesting works by K. M. Panikkar must be read :

(a) *Survey of Indian History*, Bombay, 1947.

(b) *India and the Indian Ocean* (London, 1945).

and the Higher Indus, not without confusing Indians with Ethiopians. A century later, Ctesias from Gnide, for 17 years physician to Darius II and Artaxerxes Menon; made a list of races, which reveals total absence of critical sense mixed up with fantasy. Since these forerunners our knowledge of the inhabitants of India has certainly increased considerably but is still far from being definite.

Thus it has been described, rather roughly, that India is occupied by white men in the West, a yellow race in the East and black people in the South. Then the criterium of race-limit being rather confused, linguistic criterium which is much more objective was resorted to; and sometimes a certain concordance appeared between the race and the language. But that concordance was far from being regular. We should not for instance compare at all events the Dravidian languages with the ethnical type, Tamil though this type speaks a Dravidian language.³

THE TAMIL PROBLEM:

It is precisely from the anthropological point of view many researches remain to be made on the population of South India.

We know that the people along the Coromandel Coast, speaking a Dravidian language, given to weaving and agriculture, have attained a high degree of civilisation. It is the Tamil people who are placed under the general group of 'melano-hindus'. They form the majority of the population of Pondicherry.

Not only Hecates de Milet but also modern authors have compared this group with Ethiopians. This group shows, like them, though in a different way, intermediary traits between white and black people which made it comparable with the mediterranean complex.

For Prof. H. V. Vallois: 'It is difficult to say, if the melano-hindus have come to India secondarily or if they can be considered as natives. For some authors they were there before the Veddas who pushed them thereafter towards the East. For others, the Veddas were the first inhabitants. In any case, the two races have been in close contact and have had strong influence one over the other. Thus the dark skin of the Veddoïdes of the South is probably due to the influence of melano-hindu'.⁴

Von Eickstedt, who led an Indo-German anthropological mission to India in 1926-1929, considers the Tamils as a 'melanide' race and compares them with the melanasian branch of the negroïd

³ "*Dravida* ne représente qu'une transcription de *damila*, tamil; le mot ne fournit rien sur le type ethnique" (P. MASSON-OURSEL, H. de WILL MANGRABOWSKA- PH. STERN. (*La Renaissance du livre*, Paris, 1933). *Dravida* is but the word 'Tamil' as pronounced by people of sanskrit speech habits.

⁴ H. V. Vallois, *Les Races Humaines*, (Paris 1944).

race.⁵ This comparison is not justifiable. But for the colour of the skin, the Tamils have no specifically African traits. A single consideration of hair alone reveals that they have neither the short curl of the African nor the crisp hair of the Melanasian.

The eminent Indian anthropologist B. S. Guha looks upon the Tamils as mediterranean, and classifies them under paleo-mediterranean.⁶ In fact, for want of precise documents, we are reduced only to conjectures.

Even in Pondicherry, praise-worthy and long-standing work has been done in the field of history and archaeology.

But no anthropological investigation has yet been made as it is done in Goa for instance. It is because specialists in anthropology are rare and amateurs who are also few take to that science without sufficient leisure and necessary means to devote themselves to it.

A PROGRAMME

We believe however that it is possible to proceed at least with an inventory of numerous facts that are before us. Thus our daily observations since several months during our medical practice have made it possible to fix up a provisional plan of researches, the result of which may give an orientation to future endeavours.

Here is the plan:

Physical anthropology: Height
Cephalic index
Nasal index
Weight

Anthropo-biology: 1-Growth
2-Blood

(a) Chemical study of blood with regard to two characteristic elements:

Glucose

Cholesterol

(b) Morphology of blood with regard to white corpuscles (eosino).

(c) Blood-groups.

3-Feminine physiology: puberty and pregnancy.

4-Congenital pigmentary stain.

Ethnology: Tattooings in women.

Already work has begun in almost all the branches and we hope to succeed in uniting the important series for each character under study.

⁵ V. Eickstedt, *Zeits-Morph. Anthropol.* vol. 32 (1933).

⁶ B. S. Guha, *Racial Elements in the Population* (Bombay, 1944).

As it can be seen according to this plan, it is not exclusively pure anthropometry but also physiology. We have here briefly exposed the reason for it.

I—ANTHROPOMETRY

The establishment of physical constants can help us to define in some way the position of the Tamils of Pondicherry in the system of races and this is not a negligible aim. But also, such research work carried out on the school-going population enables us to establish the forms of growth, the absence of which prevents the doctor from appreciating the child: Whether he is a normal type statural, volumetric, ponderal or else whether he is away from the normal and how much.

2—BLOOD EOSINOPHILIA

The first results of the statistical study of blood eosinophilia in individuals known to be normal have shown that its rate is maintained at an average of 20% instead of the usual figures of 1 to 2%. This fact leads to the research of the causes of this abnormally high eosinophilia. The most usual cause being intestinal parasitism, the importance of helminthiasis was studied immediately at Pondicherry and it was found that 54% of the patients examined in 1946 had intestinal worms, roughly one-third of these being hook-worms which more than others provoke eosinophilia.

Our research must not stop there. We must specify the conditions favourable for ancylostoma after gathering information about occupation, habits in clothing and eating of the population under consideration and incidentally the curious and dangerous habit of eating clay will also be noted. We are thus not only in the field of epidemiology or sociology but also of ethnology. The first conclusions of such a study will be therapeutic and prophylactic: the fight against ancylostomiasis, a social malady which concerns the individual as well as the race, will be organised.

That is not all. *Ancylostoma*, worm responsible for anaemia and eosinophilia is not one. Two important kinds of it are known: *ancylostoma duodenale* and *necator americanus*. These worms, zoologically neighbours, are essentially suited to man, so much so, research work done about the geographical distribution of these two parasites was able to give us some indication regarding ethnic migration of infested individuals. Thus the primitive distribution of *ancylostoma duodenale* seems to have been limited to the region situated above 20N. latitude, that of *necator americanus* below the same latitude. *Necator americanus* has been discovered in America (hence its name) but it was imported there by the negro slave trade. In a village almost inaccessible in the islands of Fiji, the natives breed *necator americanus*; in a

neighbouring village, workers of East Indies are infested with *ancytoma duodenale*; we can also follow the double exchange between these two categories of individuals. In other groups, Indian tribes according to their origin, show the presence of one or the other of these worms.¹ We see here how ordinary epidemiological research can lead us to ethnographical considerations. In our particular case, we have been lead to it by a continuous study of blood formulae in predominant eosinophilia.²

3—BLOOD GROUPS

It is needless to insist on the interest of the study of blood groups. First it has a great anthropological value, the proportion of each one of the four blood groups varying according to races; the facts thus obtained are often independent of those given by other physical characters. On a practical level, the knowledge of blood groups enables us to execute, with all the required safety, that remarkable therapeutic method: the transfusion of blood.

4—CHOLESTEROL

It is an ordinary daily observation which drew attention on cholesterol. The rate of cholesterol in blood varies generally from 1.4 to 1.7 grammes per thousand. The average rate usually allowed is 1.6. And at Pondicherry extremely low figures far below 1 gr. are found. As a general rule we know that there is hypocholesterolemia in tropical countries. The rate of cholesterol seems to be a function of alimentary share as it has been proved in Java and as our first results seem to confirm it. This research involves thus a serious supplementary study on alimentation.

A factor other than alimentation has also been involved: climate. And Morse in India accuses sudation as being important; a great quantity of cholesterol is emitted by sebaceous glands. This would seem to be confirmed by the fact that Hindus have 32% more glandular orifices (738.2 per square centimeter) than the white men of America. But Autret in Indo-China and Ghose in India observe that there are no seasonal variations in the rate of blood-cholesterol.¹

Chronic malaria diminishes this rate, and latent hepatic insufficiency would increase it. Malaria is rare in Pondicherry while hepatic insufficiency is frequent.

There we come to know all problems raised by the simple study of cholesterol and all unknown things revealed by its true significance.

¹ Joyeux Ch. *Precis de Medecine Coloniale*, (Paris, 1944).

² Tropical eosinophilia is frequent in Pondicherry.

³ See Pales, *Etudes de physiologie comparative*, *Bull. et Mem. de la Societe d'anthropologie de Paris*, T. VI, IX serie, 1945.

5—GLYCEMY

The frequency of hepatic insufficiency and much more that of diabetes make the study of glycemy at Pondicherry next in importance to that of cholesterol. Figures obtained till now are not at variance with those of cholesterol. At best, we can speak of a tendency to hypoglycemia. The fixation of the limit of glucose elimination by the kidneys would be of interest to us. This limit is reached in Europe where glucose in blood exceeds 1.80 per 1000. Clinical observation has shown us that it was often low here. The frequency of glycosuries and their cure by a well understood regime lead us to think that certain habits in eating may influence the functioning of the secretional filter of the kidneys. We are thus confronted once more with the study of the problem of alimentation.

6—FEMININE PHYSIOLOGY

It is unnecessary to underline the importance of feminine physiology in a country where the appearance of first menses is the occasion for a little festival and where numerous pregnancies are considered as a blessing. We must, before anything else, point out the frequent confusion here, and unpleasant in its consequences: it is said that a girl is matured when the first menses appears. The correct term would be puberal. The young girl becomes matured, is fit for marriage, only after the completion of her formation, maturity being separated from puberty by an interval of one or several years. This confusion is the cause of marriages between very young couples, in consequence, early pregnancies which bring about a general fatigue of the mother and a certain amount of weakness in the child. It is of bio-social interest to define physiologically this period between puberty and maturity.

It is to be noted that amenorrhea, primary or secondary, is rather frequent and seems to be related with insufficient alimentation.

Frequent pregnancies, their quality, still-births, and figures of surviving children, these are indispensable information to judge properly the vitality of a population and its demographic future. Further, anatomo-physiological study of the feminine basin leads us to anthropological conclusions.

7—CONGENITAL PIGMENTARY STAIN

The congenital pigmentary stain, incorrectly termed as mongolian blue stain has been the object of numerous inquests in the entire world. It is found generally at the top of the groove between the buttocks visible in the new-born baby and disappears towards the age of four. The presence of this stain gives valuable indication to ethnographers about the mixing-up and migra-

tion of races. During earlier studies in Indo-China we strove to find out the traits of hereditary transmission and were able to conclude that it was done by the mother. A first attempt made here seems to confirm this data, the stain being more frequent in girls than in boys. Its total frequency was 38.68%, infinitely less than in China and Indo-China where it exceeds 90%.

8—TATTOOINGS

The tattooings on the ladies' arms, fore-arms and hands have been studied 50 years before by Thurston, in Madras Presidency. It is one of the oldest customs of humanity which will probably disappear with evolution. It is therefore interesting to fix its present characteristics and thus study the question again in its present state in order to compare it with the data available half a century ago. It will be curious also to compare these tattooings with the chalk-designs made by girls on the threshold during different festivals and ceremonies. It seemed to us that motives in both the cases had numerous points of resemblance.

CONCLUSIONS

From what presedes it may be judged with what idea we desire to conduct our work. Without neglecting pure research we would not like to separate it however from practical application which may result in turn in eventual discoveries.

The time has come especially for us to attempt the sketch of Tamilian physiology, the knowledge of which is indispensable for the proper organization of the public health of this country and for the instauration of rational therapeutics. That is why we have stressed biological research.

Nosological studies—some are excellent—do not lack in Pondicherry and we know fairly well the medical geography of the French establishments in India. But its western frame-work is sometimes ill-suited to local condition, what we desire is the revision of local pathology on a strictly local anatomo-physiological basis.

Thus anthropological research will not be a vain speculation on an abstract 'homo tamilensis' but it will strive on the contrary to define the living man.

We do not overlook the gaps in our syllabus that we have put forth but we think, if it is correctly executed it will contribute to a better understanding of the population of Tamil Nad.

It is quite evident that such a program being so fragmentary in long researches and longer verifications cannot therefore lead us to immediate and above all complete results in a short period.

It cannot be also the work of only one seeker.

Pondicherry is gifted in this respect in as much as the favourable conditions for this work are present here; physicians from France and India with enthusiasm for research work and animated by honest spirit of team-work, a century-old institution

but with a spirit always young; the medical college at Pondicherry, under the aegis of which all our work will be undertaken, and we are sure, carried out successfully.

THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

India was one of the countries which started an Ethnographical Survey very early and under the direction of Sir Herbert Risley a large mass of information, although of a preliminary nature, was collected on the customs and institutions of the people as well as their anthropometric characters. Unfortunately this work was not continued and inspite of efforts of Dr Nelson Annandale and Dr. R. B. Seymour Sewell, F. R. S., Directors of the Zoological Survey of India, with one excuse or other, the project was shelved. Anthropology had to be content as forming only a section of Zoological Survey of India under one officer and a couple of assistants.

The importance of the bearing of Anthropology on the administration of primitive tribes of which India possesses about 25 millions, the vast amount of prehistoric skeletal materials excavated by the Department of Archaeology, and the help that it can give in the welding of the diverse people and cultures of India to form an integrated nation, led the Government at long last to take a more enlightened view of the subject. A scheme for the reorganization of Anthropological research was accordingly prepared in 1945 by me and Dr Seymour Sewell, who was invited by the Government of India to make proposals for the formation of an independent Anthropological Department, and at the end of that year the nucleus of the Anthropological Survey of India (the name of which has since been changed to Department of Anthropology) was formed. In 1946, the long-dreamt-of plan came into being. The Survey was definitely established with a 5-year programme and a budget rising from more than 1½ lakhs in the first year to an estimated one of nearly 8 lakhs in fifth. Dr B. S. Guha was appointed Director, with the additional duty of acting as Anthropological Adviser to Government. Dr Verrier Elwin was appointed Deputy Director. Offices, laboratories and a library were opened; officers and other staff were appointed and a beginning of work was made. It is expected that by the end of the 5-year period, the Department of Anthropology should be a fully developed, well-equipped and efficiently-staffed institution which will study Man on the broadest basis and in every part of the Dominion of India.

During the first two years of its life, the Department was located in Benares, for the disturbed conditions in the country made it impossible to move to its proper home, the Indian Museum at Calcutta. At the end of May 1948, however, the Department moved to its present offices in the Museum where it had already opened its Ethnographic gallery.

In India an enormous field of reasearch, both theoretical and practical, lies before the anthropologist. The study of the physical characters of the people is still incomplete. Since the pio-

neer work of Sir Herbert Risley in 1891, now rendered somewhat obsolete by great advances in the methods and techniques of the science, very little has been published except the works of Eickstedt, Cipriani and Bowles in some parts of the country and Guha's investigations on selected tribes and castes during the Census of 1931, leaving a vast field of unexplored territory for survey. Not only do the actual bodily measurements and characteristics require the fullest investigation, but it is necessary that these measurements should be accompanied by the study of deep-seated physiological characteristics, such as the percentage of blood-groups in each race, which may well provide evidence of the original source from which any particular tribe or race has sprung; by the effect of nutrition, and especially of an unbalanced nutrition, on the growth, and finally on the proportions of the body and possibly also on the resistance to disease; and by the effect of climate on bodily structure and other physical characteristics — all of which is still largely unexplored.

Despite a number of outstanding monographs on individual tribes and concise 'glossaries' of tribes and castes, the social organization, the religion and the customs of vast numbers of the Indian people are still but scantily recorded and imperfectly understood. The great and fascinating fields of criminology, tribal art, primitive linguistics, the application of modern methods of psychological investigation to aboriginal peoples, the economics of the countryside, not only offer a tempting subject of research to the scientist, but urgently require investigation if the inhabitants (and specially the more primitive inhabitants) of the country are to be administered with sympathy and understanding.

The Five-Year plan of the Department of Anthropology has, therefore, been drawn up on broad and comprehensive lines keeping in view the development in the Science in the advanced countries of Europe and America, which can be grouped under the hands of Physical, Biological and Cultural.

i. *Physical Anthropology*. Under this head the following lines of investigation are proposed.

(a) *Somatology, Craniometry and Osteometry*.

i. *Paleontological Work*. The occurrence of such early forms as Sivapithecus and Ramapithecus suggest the possibility that further exploration may discover pre-human remains similar to those found in China, South Africa and Java.

ii. *Prehistorical Survey*. In this work close collaboration has already been established between the Departments of Archaeology and Anthropology. Many human remains discovered by archaeologists at Mohenjodaro, Harappa, Taxilla, Ujjain and prehistoric sites in Central and Southern India, have already been handed over to the Department of Anthropology for study, and there are opportunities, as for example, the excavation of such cave-sites as are suspected

of having been inhabited, for joint research by the two departments.

iii. *A Survey of the Present Population.* The acquisition of Somatometric and Osteometric data regarding the whole population is of great importance. The study will include the examination of the skeletons of the existing population by means of X-Rays.

(b) *Radiological Work.* The examination of the skeletons of living people in order to determine the age at which the bones of the skeleton attain their final mature form or other difference in their maturation, proportional lengths, general configuration, and adaptation to such habitual postures as squatting. A systematic attempt will have to be made for the collection of authentic crania, begun so happily by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and Dr John Anderson, the first superintendent of the Indian Museum, and other bones from our hospitals, burial mounds and river beds and well-planned research has to be undertaken on the skeletal variation of Indians, comparison with races of other parts of the world and their linkage with the inhabitants of the past and how far variations have taken place due to miscegenation and changes in environment. On the applied side such a study will furnish extremely important data for the maturation of bones to be used for medico-legal purposes in the determination of age.

II. *Biological Investigation.* Under this head the following lines of research are proposed.

In recent years investigations in the general biology affecting the human race have made vast strides in the advanced countries of Europe and America and this is regarded as an essential part of anthropological research. It includes such factors as the rate and pattern of growth in different races, differences in the metabolic behaviour of people due to differences in protein intake and climatic conditions, variations in the sex-ratio and differential rates of fertility, differences in vital capacity and Human genetics including Serology, normal range of variability in Man, hereditary defectiveness and anomalies and malformation, effects of inbreeding, hereditary basis of criminal propensities, feeble mindedness, hereditary characters of palmer pattern and other tests in dactyloscopy for detection of criminals etc.

The whole of this subject is of an applied nature and is of great importance in the formulation of a sane policy for raising the physical standard of the population, and creation of public opinion in favour of measures for controlling the multiplication of congenital defectives and hereditary criminals.

In India very little has been done so far in the study of

the rate and pattern of growth of the different racial groups which depend not so much on single factors like weight but but on 'the rebuilding of the whole body' expressed in the changing proportions, in progressive ossification, in manifestation of secondary sexual characters, conditioned, as recent studies in America and Japan have shown, partly by environmental forces and partly by racial factors. There is some suggestion of a quicker tempo of succession and early maturity in tropical countries, but the influence of size and stature including a longer period of intensive growth is noticeable among taller races. We need reliable data on controlled groups of samples of children through a number of years among different sections of the Indian people and only the ethnic patterns of growth are known judicious improvements in dietary and introduction of athletic sports are likely to be most effective. Similarly we have no figures for basal metabolism on any race in India except those taken by Mason and Benedict of America in South India and on Vital Capacity by Mason, both showing the mean values of the index to be below that of American women. It is necessary to establish the norms for the different Indian races and find out whether the differences from European standards are due to morphological or physiological causes.

Researches in Human Genetics will have to be pursued by collection of pedigrees of hereditary defectives and field-work and laboratory studies on twins, effects of race-crossings in the contact zones among different ethnic groups, the harmonic and disharmonic nature of the crosses, hybrid vigour and hybrid sterility etc.

The marriage customs of India, so varied in the different parts of the country, require a thorough study in the light of the modern concepts of genetics and such questions as the biological effect of cousin marriage, caste endogamy among small groups etc., should be investigated. We have very little data on the hereditary nature of anomalies and different traits among Indian Races, although in Germany the entire resources of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology were devoted to these researches, before the War.

III. *Cultural Studies.*

The importance of acquiring correct and adequate knowledge of the social and religious institutions of the people in a country of so diverse races and tribes is not only of scientific but also of utmost practical value in administration, as well as for ensuring fellowship and understanding among the population. Racial prejudice and communal animosities breed on ignorance and the surest method of stopping it is by appreciating each other's habits of life and modes of thought. Such knowledge leads to the development of harmony

and a centrifugal outlook which is the great cementing force in a nation of many races. Unfortunately we have very little objective knowledge of the institutions of the tribal folk as well as of the various progressive groups and until this is acquired, all disruptive forces born of ignorance act as great set-backs in the path of national unity and progress. In the case of the primitive tribes the necessity is even more urgent as the disintegrating forces of civilization are in full operation with the result that among many the tribal institutions and authority have been greatly weakened and their tribal life broken. Careful enquiries by distinguished scientists in America, Africa and the Pacific islands have shown that nothing is so harmful to the primitive races as the loss of interest in life as a result of failure of adjustment to rapid changes brought about by civilization and are the chief causes of depopulation in the aboriginal people. We, in this country, are on the fringe of this problem and in some cases, as among the Andamanese, the Todas, the Chenchus, the Kādars and the Lepchas of Sikkim, the lethal forces are already at work and depopulation is taking place rapidly. It is urgent therefore, that no more time should be lost in acquiring as comprehensive a knowledge of tribal institutions as possible before they disappear so as to insure not only fair-play and justice in administering them but also for guidance in formulating measures for their adjustment to the changing conditions of the time.

It is proposed to include under this hearing the following special subjects.

(a) *Primitive Economics*. This will include urgent problems of land alienation, debt, the readjustment of aboriginal methods of cultivation to the changing conditions of time.

(b) *Primitive Technology and Art*. There is a wide field of research, at present scantily explored, which may lead to the improvement of home industries and the discovery of what tribes are likely to adapt themselves to the industrial civilization of the future.

(c) *Primitive Linguistics*. Very little was done after Grierson's survey in the studies of primitive languages except those by Morgenstierne and Emmeneau. It is proposed to study the morphology and phonetics of languages spoken by primitive tribes by fully qualified linguists in actual field surveys and by means of sound-recording apparatus.

(d) *Folklore*. The stories, legends and songs of the countryside have not yet been scientifically recorded on a wide scale, nor has their relationship to the classical literatures been adequately established. It is proposed to do so in the context of Hindu, Buddhist and Islamic backgrounds and find out the respective influence of one over the other.

(e) *Primitive Psychology*. In recent years, psychology has come to be recognized as an essential part of social anthropology and in India particularly the time has come when the investigator must penetrate behind the bare record of established custom and relationship to its motive and origia. Child-psychology has been too neglected by those who would educate the aborigines. Moreover, the whole of village India is passing through a period of rapid cultural, religious and economic change and a study of the resultant psychological reactions is essential for a proper administration of the tribal populations.

(f) *Primitive Crime and Tribal Law*. Many tribes follow a local customary law which is at variance with the official codes and there is often delay and hardship in the Courts as a result. An attempt to codify Santal tribal law is now being made by the Government of Bihar, but the matter will be examined by the Department of Anthropology on an all-India basis. The study of the aboriginal criminal is in its infancy and there has been some confusion over the classification of Criminal Tribes.

The greater part of the year 1946-47 was spent in building up the equipment, Library and laboratories of the Department. An X-Ray plant with accessories and radiographic material has been purchased. The Applied Psychological Laboratory has been fitted up with apparatus for mental tests, and further accessories and equipment are being made locally and imported from America.

Scientific researches undertaken since the inception of the Department in December 1945, may be briefly summarized as follows:—

1. Work was continued on the restoration and study of the prehistoric skeletal materials from Harappa, Ujjain and other parts and it is expected that a detailed report will be published in the near future.

2. For the formulation of a policy towards the primitive tribes and their proper place in the future Constitution of the country, a comprehensive report was prepared on their cultural and racial affinities and problems affecting their administration in the light of experience of tribal population in different parts of the world.

In addition to these various field-investigations were undertaken.

(a) Jaunswar-Bowar in the eastern Simla Hills where polyandry is still actively practiced. A survey was made of the greater part of lower Jaunswar extending from Chakrata to Lakhwar and a large mass of materials on the Physical, and social characteristics of the people was collected. The survey included also studies of their language and for

the first time, Performance and special Ability and other mental tests were carried out by trained Psychologists. Due to unforeseen communal disturbances the survey of Bowar and upper Jaunswar could not be undertaken. It is hoped that conditions will permit an early visit to this interesting tract and data of great scientific importance and administrative value will be collected.

(b) Continuation of investigations among the hill tribes in the interior of Orissa, such as the Hill Saoras, taken up by Dr Verrier Elwin in the winters of 1946 and 1947 and summer of 1948, and important data, not hitherto known, were collected.

(c) A survey of the surviving Andamanese and the Nicobarese tribes was undertaken at the request of the Ministry of Home Affairs as the Government was anxious to find out the conditions of these tribes after the Japanese occupation and what steps can be taken to save this fastly disappearing relics of one of the most ancient human races. Visits were paid to the Settlements of the Andamanese in the North Andamans, the Jarawa tract and among the Onges of the Little Andaman. Preliminary study was made of the Nicobarese in Kar Nicobar and it is proposed to establish a permanent Station of the Department of Anthropology at Port Blair to carry on systematic investigations among the inhabitants of the islands which are separated by wide stretches of the sea and not easy to approach.

(d) A proposal for carrying on a systematic Anthropological Survey of the Abor tribe of the Sadiya Frontier Tract in Assam is under consideration in collaboration with the Government of Assam.

The Department plans three types of publications: a twice yearly Bulletin consisting of papers by members of the Department; Memoirs; and popular handbooks in the national languages intended to make the latest anthropological knowledge available to a wide public.

In addition to research work, the Department has a scheme for giving advanced training to students.

Six post-graduate students were selected during 1946-47 and four others will be trained in 1947-48. Two students went on the Orissa expedition early in the year and two others accompanied Dr Guha to Jaunswar-Bawar. While at headquarters they have been given regular instruction and opportunities for laboratory training on a scale at present unobtainable elsewhere in the country.

In view of the rapid advance in the development of method and technique in other countries and in order to ensure collaboration with anthropologists eager to work in India, it is proposed to offer a few visiting Fellowships to

foreign scholars, both Asiatic and Western, to facilitate their researches in India and it is hoped that thereby not only will the cause of science be advanced, but the latest experience of world scholarship will be made available to the Department. Sanction has been obtained for this proposal and the first of the Fellowships will be awarded this year.

In addition to the award of such Fellowships the Department of Anthropology will be happy to give assistance and to arrange facilities for work to anthropologists from other parts of the world who wish to visit India, and those intending to do so are advised to approach the Dominion Government through this channel, writing to the Director, Department of Anthropology, Government of India, 27, Chowringhee, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

REVIEWS

MAUNG HTIN AUNG. *Burmese Folk-Tales*. (Oxford University Press, Calcutta), pp. xxxii + 246, 8 ov., Price Rs. 10.

The author of the book under review certainly deserves sincere congratulations from the lovers of folk-literature, specially in view of the fact that 'no collection of Burmese Folk-Tales, either in Burmese or in English has ever been published before this' (xxxii). Seventy folk-tales classified into four groups, e. g. 'Animal Tales,' 'Romantic Tales,' 'Wonder Tales' and 'Humorous Tales' have been retold by the author here, though by his own admission this classification is 'more arbitrary than scientific' (xv). In a 24-page Introduction the author deals with various subjects related to the study of Burmese folk-tales. There is a short appendix (pp. 218-225) in which some Burmese myths and legends have been described. In the 'Notes' added to the book (pp. 226-46) some Burmese folk-beliefs have been explained and attempts have also been made therein to identify the folk-tales according to the Aarne and Thompson method.

As it seems that the author is acquainted with the latest method of studying folk-tales it is not therefore understandable why he, instead of following the scientific method of study, has followed an 'arbitrary' method. The mere fact that this is the maiden publication of Burmese folk-tales cannot in any way exonerate the author, specially in view of his position and learning, from his responsibility of studying the subject in the way established by the recognized modern school.

Nobody will deny that culturally Burma is indebted to India on one hand and China on the other. Without, however, acknowledging this fact the author has attempted to trace the 'origin' of most of the tales in Upper Burma (ix). How then does he account for the existence of seventy per cent. of his 'Animal Tales' in Bengal where almost all of them have already appeared in print either in English or in the vernacular? Even for the tale to which he gives the title of 'How the Rabbit rid the Forest of its Tyrant' and which has undeniably been borrowed from the *Hitopadesha* in Sanskrit and which also appears in *Aesop's Fables*, the author has no comment to make except that it can be 'compared to the Deccan tale of the "Clever Jackal,"' (p. 227). This shows how precarious it is to make any attempt to study the folk-tales of a country without knowing the historical background on which they are based. Though the author has drawn such far-fetched conclusions in order to prove the numerical strength of the fowl-stories as 'Burma with its numerous streamlets and wooded valleys was one of the earliest homes, if not the original home, of the fowl' (xii) he has not, however, explained the lion-stories which number as many as four in his collection where the tiger appears in six and the crow in five stories.

The author should have been more careful over such statements as 'The tales were collected by me during the period 1933-1937.' 'All the tales, except two 'were told to me by villagers at different places' (xxxi) of Upper Burma, and at the same time 'the tales were current in Upper Burma until two or three decades ago' (ix). 'The coming of the *Jatakas* to the villages perhaps resulted in the disappearance of the folk-fable or moral tale' (xii). But is it not a fact that no extraneous influence, however, strong it may be, can cause the disappearance of folk-culture in any country? The world's history does not seem to support this fact. It is Garuda which is the 'great bird' according to Hindu mythology and not '*Garunda*' (xviii).

One's grand-mother always renders the greatest service in the matter of collection of folk-tales. Therefore it is very unfortunate to know that though the author's grand-mother 'knew' many tales she had 'forgotten' them even when he 'was still at school' (xxiii). The author has not mentioned from what type of 'villagers', literate or illiterate, he made the collection.

From a careful study of the tales collected it appears that most of the stories have migrated to Burma either from India or from China in ancient

times. Some of the western fables have also migrated there in recent years through various channels. However, it offers an interesting study to see how far these heterogeneous elements have been naturalized in the soil of Burma.

The title *Folk-Tales of Upper Burma* would have been more appropriate for the book.

ASUTOSH BHATTACHARYA

ARTHUR WALEY, *Chinese Poems*. (London, 1948) pp. 214. Price 8-6.

This book is a collection of Arthur Waley's translations of Chinese poems. It contains 28 poems from *The Book of Songs* (1937) and most of the poems from 170 *Chinese Poems* (1918), *More Translations* (1919) and *The Temple* (1923). A few additional poems are now published for the first time. The old translations have been revised, and fresh notes and explanations added at the end of the book; these are chiefly intended for readers who can consult the originals. Dr Waley hopes to make a separate edition of Chinese text opposite the translations in due course.

Dr Waley gives an interesting account of his methods of translation. 'Out of the Chinese five-word line' he says, 'I developed between 1916 and 1923 a metre, based on what Gerard Manley Hopkins called "sprung rhythm", which I believe to be just as much an English metre as blank verse. The Chinese seven-word line is much more difficult to handle and I have not attempted any long poems in the metre.'

'This brings me to the question of selection. My book is not a balanced anthology of Chinese poetry, but merely a collection of poems that happen to work out well in a literal but at the same time literary translation. This of course excludes poems of a highly allusive nature, requiring an undue amount of annotation. The fact that I have translated ten times more poems by Po Chii-i than by any other writer does not mean that I think him ten times as good as any of the rest, but merely that I find him by far the most translatable of the major Chinese poets. Nor does it mean that I am unfamiliar with the works of other great T'ang and Sung poets. I have indeed made many attempts to translate Li Po, Tu Fu and Su Shih; but the results have not satisfied me.'

Both scholars and lovers of poetry will welcome the publication of Arthur Waley's exquisite translations in so handy and acceptable a form.

F. BOAS, *Race Language and Culture*. (New York, 1948) pp. xx and 647. Price 27-6.

This great book, which is a reprint of the 1940 edition, might well serve as a monument of one of the finest and most universal anthropologists who has ever lived. It is a collection of Dr Boas' incidental work, from his journals, reviews of books and printed lectures. It is divided into sections under the headings Race, Language, Culture and Miscellaneous. Here will be found Dr Boas' defence of physical anthropology against its critics, his classification of the American Indian Languages, his views on the aims and methods of the social sciences, his discussions of the mythology of the American Indians and the Eskimos, some most interesting papers on the art of primitive people, and even an early paper on the study of geography.

It is a welcome sign of the growing popularity of anthropological science that a second edition of a large and expensive work should be called for within a comparatively short time. But why is there no Index?



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